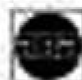
To
Late Rai Bahadur Ealdal Singh
of Ramibigha Estate

History and Philosophy of Buddhism

Based mainly on Pali
Canonical and Exegetical
Literature



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FOREWORD

It gives me genuine pleasure to write this foreword to the work of Prof. Sheo Kumar Singh M.A., D. LITT. This work is mainly based upon his doctorate thesis and is named *History and Philosophy of Buddhism*. In more than one respects it is a unique work. It gives a historical sketch of the origin and growth of Buddhism during the life-time of Gautam Buddha, the promalgator of the creed and the expansion of Buddhism in the different countries of Asia in later times. It gives a full scale vivid picture of the ethics and philosophy of Buddhism. The treatment of the momentous doctrine of Nirvāna is an illuminating contribution based upon the Pali-Tripiṭaka and Buddha Ghoṣa's Visuddhi-Magga. The chapter on the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from its native land is bound to be considered as an original dissertation. It is an intriguing problem which has exercised the minds of all lovers of Buddhism. Dr. Singh proves with convincing arguments the destruction of monasteries by Turks whose ancestors were Buddhists by faith and later on embraced Islam is the proximate cause of the obliteration of Buddhism from India. It is the sad tale which is only a repetition of the process which uprooted Buddhism from the Afghanistan and Central Asia and also Java. Later documents have almost clinched the issue.

I am confident that this single book will acquaint the readers with the salient points and land-marks of the expansion and decline of this international religion. It was a first missionary religion and Christianity imitated its important institutions. Islam thrived at the cost of Buddhism which they called *Butaparasti i.e.* Buddha-latry.

I have no doubt that his work will find a place in the libraries of the universities of the West and the East and also professors of Buddhalogy. It deserves to be made a text book for the higher cadres of Buddhist studies. I thank the publisher for the moral courage in undertaking this momentous publication.

Ratma, Dakshingram
Birbhum
19-11-77

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

PREFACE

The title of this book is broadly suggestive of the subject treated in it. My purpose is to present a comprehensive account of Buddhism as a new religion and philosophy together with the historical background. I have indicated in the introduction the influence of the environment and tradition of the country upon the life of the founder of a new religion. The Buddha succeeded in bringing about a veritable revolution in the country which, however, was quite peaceful and bloodless. The Buddha was an intellectual giant and a great debator and this marks him out from Christ and Mohammed. Christ was brought up in the tradition of his country and his religion was only a reformed Judaism. The Arabian tradition and even ritualism were totally accepted by Mohammed. The innovation introduced by him consisted in the eradication of idolatry and replacement of polytheism by monotheism. These two Semitic creeds, Christianity and Islam, are characterised by blind faith and there is very little scope for logical justification, which may be said to come as an afterthought. I have shown in the course of my research that high philosophy and lofty ethics could not save Buddhism from the onslaughts of Islam and Christianity. Buddhism was noted for its advocacy of non-violence. This was its strength and weakness too. It has enlisted the sympathy and support of the elite, but has been rather too abstruse for the masses. Further, it was pre-eminently a religion of the monks. It did little to reform the society of the time. With the destruction of the Buddhist monasteries by the Muslims it simply withered away and the masses easily transferred their allegiance to the religion of the conqueror. The present work unfolds this sad tale and suggests measures that might protect this religion from decay and decline.

I shall feel amply recompensed if this humble work of mine, which cost me years of labour, receives sympathetic consideration and attention. I offer my grateful thanks to scholars who encouraged me and gave helpful suggestions also. My debt to my predecessors is much too immense to permit

a detailed acknowledgement. It rather increases for their generosity in making it possible for me to criticize them when I differed.

The credit of this book, if there is anything good, goes to Dr. S. Mookerjee who has been my Guru and guide in course of preparing my thesis for the D. Litt. degree which was later on transformed into this book. So far its shortcomings are concerned, they are all mine. Dr. Kali Das Bhattacharya, the then Vice-Chancellor, Vishwa Bharati, Santiniketan and Dr. T.R.V. Murty, Professor of Comparative Religion and Philosophy, McMaster University, Canada have been examiners of that thesis and it is after their valuable suggestions that the thesis took the shape of this book.

Dr. N. Tatia, Director, Jain Vishwa Bharati, Ladnun, Dist. Nagaur (Rajasthan) and Dr. B.P. Sinha, Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University have also obliged me with their valuable suggestions at different places. Dr. C.S. Upasak, Director, Nava Nalanda Mahavihar and Dr. D.K. Banerjee of the same Mahavihara have obliged me with their valuable suggestions regarding historical portions of the book. So also has Dr. M. Tiwary Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University obliged me with his suggestions in very many ways. I must thank Professors R. P.D., M.P. Singh, I.D. Singh and M. Chaudhary Dept. of English, Nalanda College for taking pains to check the language in the manuscript. I owe much to Dr. P. Dayal the former Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Parmanand Singh, Development Officer and Sri. S. Lal, F.O., all authorities of Magadh University with whose cooperation the publication of the work could be possible. Last but not the least I must express my sense of thankfulness to Sri Biplav Kumar Sinha due to whose untiring efforts the book could be published in time.

I am obliged to mention that my wife Smt. A.M. Rani and my eldest son Vinay and daughter Asha who, apart from bearing patiently all odds in course of writing this assignment, have been immensely helpful in preparing index of the book.

I now conclude with the often quoted verse of Kālidāsa :

"*Aparitoṣād viduṣām na sādhu manye prayoga-vijñānam*
Balavadapi śikṣitānam ātmanyapratyayam cetaḥ."

(The *Abhijñā*... *Śā*...

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	:	Aṅguttara Nikāya
BC	:	Buddha Carita
CP	:	Cariyā Piṭaka
CV	:	Culla Vagga
DhPA	:	Dhamma Pada Aṭṭhakathā
DN	:	Dīgha Nikāya
Dvyav	:	Divyāvadāna
HC	:	Harṣa Carita
IV	:	Itivuttaka
JA	:	Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (Dharmārākṣita Edition)
JC	:	Jina Carita
KhN	:	Khuddaka Nikāya
KV	:	Kathā Vatthu
KDM	:	Kādambarī
KA	:	Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra
LV	:	Lalita Vistara
MN	:	Majjhima Nikāya
MNA	:	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
MV	:	Mahā Vagga
MPS	:	Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta
MVas	:	Mahā Vastu
MAMilp	:	Milinda Pañho
MK	:	Mādhyamika Kārikā
NK	:	Nidāna Kathā
NKC	:	Nyāyakumudacandra
PV	:	Peta Vatthu
SamN	:	Saṃyutta Nikāya
SN	:	Sutta Nipāta
SK	:	Sāṅkhya Kārikā
ThG	:	Therī Gāthā
ThraG	:	Thera Gāthā
VM	:	Visuddhi Magga (Kośāmbi edition)
VV	:	Vimāna Vatthu
YD	:	Yuktidīpikā
YBh	:	Yoga Bhāṣya

All Pali references are to the Nalanda Devanagari Editions, except in those cases where editions are noted in brackets.

Transliteration

अ—a, आ—ā, इ—i, ई—ī, उ—u, ऊ—ū, ए—e, ऐ—ai, ओ—o, औ—au, अं—aṅ or aṃ, अः—ah, क्—k, ख्—kh, ग्—G, घ्—gh, ङ्—ṅ, च्—c, छ्—ch, ज्—j, झ्—jh, ञ्—ñ, ट्—ṭ, ठ्—ṭh, ड्—ḍ, ढ्—ḍh, ण्—ṇ, त्—t, थ्—th, द्—d, ध्—dh, न्—n, प्—p, फ्—ph, ब्—b, भ्—bh, म्—m, य्—y, र्—r, ल्—l, व्—v, श्—ś, ष्—ṣ, स्—s, ह्—ṅ, ढ्—rh, त्—lh, क्ष्—ks, त्र्—tr, ज्ञ्—jn, ऋ—ṛ.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

An explanation is needed for choosing a subject of my research on Buddhism. Literally a cart-load of literature has been written on it. All the aspects of Buddhism have been studied by western and oriental scholars and one is apt to think that very little scope for making a new contribution has been left open to subsequent researchers. This was my impression also and it is with a good deal of persuasion by my guide that I was made to study the Pali canon afresh and compare and verify my conclusions with the writings of western scholars. One must acknowledge one's debt to the European savants who showed the line of critical approach for the evaluation of the teaching of the Buddha.

The research of European scholars may be classified under two broad heads, viz. (*i*) the sympathetic appraisals and (*ii*) the critical and sceptical judgements. Rhys Davids pre-eminently stands as the foremost representative of the first category and Oldenberg, A.B. Keith and others may be regarded as the most influential writers of the second. In between the two there are the doubting Thomases. Even the historicity of the Buddha has been challenged. But it may be stated that further researches and critical reflections have settled the historical question beyond doubt. Such a vast literature as is embodied in the Pali canon cannot be reasonably set aside as forgery. There are embellishments, exaggerations and interpolations pertaining to miracles which serve only to create suspicion in the modern mind. But this is more or less the case with all the founders of major religions of the world. Miracles are found to be interspersed with events which are quite probable. Miracles performed by Jesus Christ

are accepted as historical events by the believers. This is also the case with the Buddha's orthodox followers. The sceptic may excise these accounts as the creations of the editors and still sort out the historical and likely events at the genuine kernel. I have followed a path of my own. I am persuaded by my studies of the original texts and the critical evaluation of the western scholars, that the safer course lies in the middle path which has been taught by the Buddha himself in respect of moral and religious conduct.

I must gratefully acknowledge may debt to those savants of Europe whose love of science and truth is indubitable. The traditional scholarship must be checked up in the light of the honest criticism of scholars of Europe who have dedicated their valuable time and thought to the task of unravelling the tangled intricacies and knotty issues which confront a critical student. To set aside the researches of the predecessors as useless lumber and to stick to the tradition handed down by orthodox exponents will be a foolish procedure. I have taken into account both the sides, and after critical reflection, have spotted out what seemed probable and logically acceptable. This is may apology for undertaking a task which is not only onerous but also liable to be regarded as waste of time and energy. My indebtedness of my predecessors, both European and Indian, is acknowledged in the footnotes. They have been my beacon lights. I may crave the indulgence of scholars who will favour my humble work with perusal to note the salient points of my endeavour. In the words of Vyāsatīrtha, the author of the Nyāyāmṛta.

"*Saṃgrahād viprakīrṇānam uktasyāpy upapādanāt*
Anukta-kathanāt kvāpi saphaloyaṃ śramo mama"

"my labour may not be aborative in as much as it serves to collect in one place matters that are scattered, elucidate what has been said by others and thirdly to state what has escaped the attention of the previous writers."

I began with the study of the socio-political conditions and the religious and philosophical climate in which the Buddha flourished, because I think that, however, original and outstanding a person may be, he cannot remain entirely free from the influence of the environment. The Buddha,

on all accounts and by all standards of judgement, must be acknowledged as the most original personality. The religion he preached differs *toto caelo* from the Vedic tradition and also from the philosophical position of his contemporaries and predecessors. He did not believe in a personal soul or a personal god. This marks him out as a unique thinker. In fact, his doctrines have been considered by many as grotesque and bizarre. I have discussed these questions in the body of the book. But in spite of his uniqueness and originality his inheritance of the theory of *karma* and transmigration from the prevalling philosophical and religious atmosphere appears unmistakeable.

I have laid emphasis upon a fact which is of fundamental importance in the career of the Buddha. He was brought up in luxury, and all comforts and amenities were available to him. Music, dance, amusements and diversions, sensuous pleasure, and young beautiful dancers accomplished in all these arts conspired to make his life as happy and carefree as could be possible in those days. He had an extra ordinary beautiful and affectionate wife and her fidelity was beyond question. So his renunciation of home-life is nothing short of an enigma. The view is ordinarily aired out that frustration, unhappy domestic life and failure to achieve ambitions serve generally as the *vis a tergo* in the case of ordinary persons. This charge against the preference of ascetic life is not only a modern fashion, but is also seen to be voiced by the adherents of *Pūrvamīmāṅsā*, and there is a discourse in the *Vedānta-Sūtra* of Bādarāyana which disposes of the objections of the Mīmāṅsists by cogent arguments. The four omens, *viz.* the sight of an old man, of a sick man, of a corpse and of a hermit decided the future of Gautama Buddha for relinquishment of the comforts of home-life for that of an ascetic. The Buddha's sensitive mind was shocked by the prospects of old age, disease and death. He determined to find out the way of achieving immortality not only for himself but also for the entire world. The life of a homeless ascetic dedicated to poverty had an attraction for spiritually ambitious persons. It is evident from the accounts of the

Pali canon that there were a large number of ascetic orders which received unstinted patronage of kings, rich commercial magnets and well-to-do householders who believed that service to these ascetics was a noble virtue. It was a prevailing fashion and the Śākya prince accepted this custom. The belief was firmly rooted in the minds of the people that a life of asceticism and meditation was the path to total emancipation from the miseries of worldly life. The Buddha was never tired of preaching his strong conviction that life in the world was fraught with suffering from end to end. I have disussed this problem at some length in the body of my work. The Buddha claimed that he had discovered the sure and infallible remedy for the cessation of suffering. In this holy quest the Buddha was not the solitary person. There were several orders of homeless ascetics and the founders of philosophical systems in India who lay claim to this discovery. So, the influence of the environment on the Buddha's life was obvious and indubitable.

I have also shown that the organisation of the Buddhist monks and the customary duties, such as, the full moon and new moon services were adopted by him in deference to the prevailing tradition and custom sponsored by the rival groups. The *Vinaya-Piṭaka* embodies the rules and regulations governing the conduct of pure life and a good number of these rules were appropriated from tradition with a view to avoiding the conflict and clash with the interests of the state and society. Most of them had pragmatic value. The prohibition of the initiation of slaves, fugitive soldiers and notorious criminals against whom the warrants of the law-court were pending is due to the protest of king Bimbisāra. This shows that the Buddha was conscious of the pragmatic validity of the laws of the state and acredited customs. He, of course, repudiated the claims of the Brahmins to the highest rank in society. But it is the irony of history that it was the Brahmin followers of the Buddha who consolidated his church. Furthermore, the Buddha's unshakable belief in the supremacy of the Kṣatriya caste was inspired by his heredity, and the Śākyas, the clan of his family, were regarded as the purest among the Kṣatriyas. This adds confirmation to the truth

that heredity and pride of birth are last infirmity of even noble minds.

I have discussed the points of his uniqueness. The Buddha had the strongest animus against the nudist ascetics. This was repugnant to his sense of decency and docorom. I have also shown that the Buddha did not make a fetish of vegetarian diet which was counted as the cardinal virtue by the followers of Māhavīra. Had he been a stringent and uncompromising advocate of this custom which finds a congenial soil in parts of India, his religion would not have crossed the boundaries of India. The religion of the Jains has been confined to the mercantile community of Rajasthan and Gujarat and has been not been able to convert the people of Asia. Herein lies the strength of Budhism. I have also drawn attention to the weak points of Buddhism which culminated in the decline and disappearance of the Buddha's religions from the country of its birth. I hope that my speculation on the causes of this disaster will stimulate the thoughts of students of Buddhist philosophy.

Though the Buddha had a strong repugnance to philosophical speculations and though he thought that the idle theories of philosophers were a hindrance to the quest of truth, yet his followers from the beginning of the Christian era evolved profound systems of logic and philosophy. They had to fight with the Brahmins and they could maintain their prestige by arguments and logical weapons. It is a unique distinction of India that theological differences did not degenerate into bloody feuds and religious wars which disfigure the history of Christianity and Islam. The Brahmins were prepared to fight their opponents with logical weapons. The never-ending controversies between the Brahmins and the Buddhists had produced salutary results. Both sides gained power and strength from competition. Their social status and security of religious beliefs and customs could be maintained by intellectual supermacy. Jñānaśrī Udyayana are the last titans. After the disappearance of Buddhism with its powerful philosophies and lofty ethics a more or less feeling of complacency overtook the Indian academies. The Buddhists played the role of 'gadfles' in the words of Socrates,

and they did not permit the growth of a feeling of security. Opposition and competition are necessary for the development of power both philosophical and intellectual. The Buddhist philosophers were clean fighters and so also were the Brahmins. They had trust in their intellectual powers and neither party believed in the policy of cutting the Gordian knot.

I have dealt with two fundamental problems of Buddhist philosophy, viz. *Pratītyasamutpāda* aud Nirvāṇa. I have also drawn attention to the lofty ethics of Buddhism which found its culmination in the Bodhisattva cult. It is a colossal tragedy that Buddhism could not survive the onslaughts of Islam either in India or in foreign lands. Islam made its gains by wholesale conversion of Buddhists from Afghanistan to Turkistan and also other parts of Aśiā, notably Jāvā. Buddhism is again facing the fierce competition of the Christian missionaries. Korea, once the citadel of Buddhism, has now succumbed to Christianity. It has been borne in upon my mind that even high philosophy, lofty ethics and spiritual elevation cannot guarantee the survival of a religion unless it is reinforced by political power and economic affluence. India is also facing the same problems. Poverty is the weakest point in a nation and opens the door to foreign domination and exploitation. Whatever may the sceptics and materialists think, it cannot be gainsaid that religion is the strongest passion in the human heart. A country which is the home of diverse religions will be beset with insurmonutable problems. It is my fervent prayer that Buddhism and Brahmanism should have the spiritual power to resist the temptation of initiating the example of alien creeds that have entrenched themselves in India and other countries of Asia.

My approach to the problems has been purely academic and I have tried my utmost to guard my thoughts from the incursion into religious and political bias. I am now submit ting the result of long years of labour to the judgement of scholars and my only appeal to them is to condone my fallings and shortcomings with generosity, if not, indulgence.

1

North India at the Time of Buddha

Gautama Buddha, the son of Śuddhodana, reputed to be the chief of the Śākya clan of the time, must be accounted as having been born in affluent circumstances. Though we have to make allowance for quite a natural exaggeration of the power, wealth, prosperity and legends centring around the prospective founder of a world religion, we think it not far from truth that there is a kernel of historical truth in the accounts of his career. Tradition has it that one sage[1] predicted that the newly born prince would become either a sovereign of the whole of Jambudvīpa, i.e. India or the spiritual enlightener and saviour of the whole universe. He was married early to a beautiful and accomplished princess of the Śākyan clan who bore him a son. Śuddhodana brought him up in luxury and took precautionary measures that he should not witness the seamy side of life, which might cause him disgust with and renunciation of household life as predicted.

But the biographical account shows that even man's best efforts are foiled by some higher power. Anyhow the future Buddha saw a sick man, an old man crippled by age, a dead man and a hermit.[2] On enquiry he was given to understand

1. Asita Kāla Devala is said to have made the prediction about the future Buddha—*NK* of the *JA*, p. 42.
2. Cattriāpubbanimittāni, *Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

that disease, old age and death are the unavoidable portion of living beings. Each occasion made him think deeply of these inevitable fatalites. He realised that youth and its vigour were transient. He had a sensitive mind and he thought if there was a way out of these calamities. He saw a homeless hermit free from all cares and anxieties with a contented smile and this decided for him to renounce his palace, beautiful wife and young son. The life of a homeless hermit had a fascination for spiritually ambitious youths of India in those days and even now. The young Gautama's renunciation of the worldly life and his subsequent movement from place to place in quest of the secret of death-conquering science are too well-known to require repetition. Suffice it to say that he practised hard and severe ascetic austerities which ultimately disillusioned him of their futility. He found the safe course of higher spiritual life in moderation between the two extremes of self-mortification and self-indulgence. This doctrine seems a genuine discovery. It marked out the Buddha from his rival heads of sects. The *Niganṭhas* headed by Mahāvīra, the last *Tirthaṅkara* of the Jains, was an advocate of extreme asceticism. On the other hand there were materialists headed by Ajita Kesakombali who did not believe in the survival of the dying man after death and hence did not attach any value to ascetic practices. It is not unreasonable that his ethics was akin to extreme hedonism. The Buddha preached the Middle Path or the *Majjhimā Paṭipadā* between the life of self-indulgence and self-mortification of the body.[1] In subsequent chapters we shall have occasions for examining his creed in contrast to those of others. After all is said and done, the Buddha was the founder of the religion which is peculiarly original. He did not believe in personal identity (*Attavāda*); he did not think there is a personal god and lastly, he did not believe that there was any abiding permanent reality in the world.

Now, I propose to examine the socio-religious and politico-

1. "Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyogo.........attakilamathānuyogo........etc. ubho ante anupagamma Majjhima Paṭipadā Tathāgatena abhisambuddhā"—Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ, *MV*, p. 13.

economic environment in which the Buddha lived, moved and had his being.

It is now almost universally accepted that Gautama, the Buddha, was the founder of Buddhism and Kapilavastu, a Śākyan territory in the *Janapada* of Kosala in India, was his birth-place. But his date of birth is still controversial. We can, however, assign the first quarter of the seventh century B.C. (i.e., 634 or 624) to it both in the light of the modern researches[1] and in view of the full moon day of May, 1956 being the 2500th anniversary of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, i.e., the great demise of Gautama, the Buddha, who had lived for eighty years.

Now, my aim being chiefly to trace the history of Buddhism and to discuss its principal tenets, I would like just to make only passing references regarding the society, religious beliefs, political situation and economic condition of India in the seventh century B C. which paved the path for Buddhism.

This century was remarkable for the spiritual unrest and intellectual ferment in many countries. In China we had then Lao Tzu and Confucius; in Greece, Parmenides, Empedocles and the Sophists; and in Iran, Zarathustra. In all these regions peripatetic teachers used to call on the cultured people of the society in the settlements they visited and welcomed anyone seeking advice on politics, religion or philosophy. "This century of the Buddha was," in the words of H.G. Wells, "indeed one of the most remarkable in all the history. Everywhere men's minds were displaying a new boldness. Everywhere they were waking out of the traditions of kingship, and priests and blood sacrifices and asking the most penetrating questions. It is as if the race had reached the state of adolescence."

1. Vincent Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 62.

History of the Saisunaga dynasty suggests the date as 634 B.C. and the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's *Mahāparinirvāṇa* in 1956 as 624 B.C.

According to J.F. Fleet, Inscriptions (Indian) in *Encyolopaedica Britannica*, Vol. XIV, p. 624, Col. 1 and Winternitz} (Bibliography, p. 2 note 1) the date of *Mahāparinirvāṇa* is 483 B.C. and of birth 563 B.C.; but the Bodh Gaya inscription gives 544 B.C. as the date of *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, i.e. Sad Demise.

In Indian society the intellectual aristocracy of the Brahmins, who afterwards claimed to direct the religious life and thought of India, had less extensive influence in those days. There was no cast-iron caste as we have today. The Aryans divided the then existing society into four social grades (*Varṇas*)[1] the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śdūras including non-Aryans. The Brāhmaṇas claimed their descent from the sacrificing priests and the Kṣatriyas from the nobles. Both of them were proud of their high birth and fair complexion. Below this were the peasantry (*Vaiśyas*) and the lowest of all, the Śūdras who worked for hire, were engaged in handicrafts or service and were darker in colour. Besides these there were *Hina-Jātiyo* or low tribes who were hereditary craftsmen, and *Hina-Sippāni*, i.e., low trades. Last of all were the most despised aboriginal tribes, *Caṇḍālas* and *Pukkusas*.[2] There were also predatory[3] slaves who were not ill-treated.

There were restrictions as to inter-marriage and eating together. Marriage depended upon the *Gotra* or lineage among Aryans and among other people either on the tribe or on the village. There is no instance of marriage among two parties of the same native village.[4] The elements, the foundations of the caste system were there; but the system itself did not yet develop. What we know of the period, 800-600 B.C., with which we are concerned, is most due to the Brahmanic literature. The Brahmanic view, which is mostly accepted is that the Brahmins were then socially the highest class and the repository of religion and culture. The Buddha did not acknowledge the primacy and supremacy of the Brahmins. The Kṣatriya caste was the best and supreme in his view.[5] This unenviable estimation of the Brahmin caste who held a pre-eminent

1. "Evameva manussesu yasmiṃ kasmiñci, jātiye-khattiye brāhmaṇe vesse, sudde caṇḍālapukkuse"—*AN*, Vol. I, p. 149.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *MV*, Vol. I, pp. 80, 255 and 290.
4. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 42.
5. Cf. "Cattāro me, bho Gotama, veṇṇā : khattiyā, brāhmaṇā, vessā, suddā," "Khattiyo seṭṭho janetasmiṃ" Ambaṭṭha Sutta, *DN*. I, pp. 80 and 86.

position from the Vedic times and were held in highest esteem, need not be a personal idiosyncracy of the Buddha. Most probably the position of the Brahmins in the Śākya territory was not beyond challenge. The influence of the Vedic culture must have been faint and infirm, if not non-existent. Oldenberg has shown that the Aryan culture of the orthodox Vedic tradition did not hold its sway in the eastern regions beyond the river Sadānīrā. He deduces this conclusion from the account of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[1] The Buddha was conscious of his pedigree and prided himself on being a Kṣatriya of the Śākyan tribe which was according to him the purest of the Kṣatriya clan. The Śākyas were so proud of their *Gotra*, i.e., group of agnate that they did not consent to marry their own daughter to Prasenajita, the king of Kosala and as such they were punished by Prasenajita's son.[2] Their system of marriage was not governed by Vedic rules.

If we are to believe in the tradition of the Śākya people, incest of the first degree was prevalent in the earliest days among the Śākyas. The brother married the full-blooded sister in order to preserve the sanctity of the blue blood. The Buddha, however, traced his genealogy to Ikṣvāku,[3] a powerful king of the solar dynasty and eponymous founder of the kings of Ayodhya. The genealogical account need not be scouted as a spurious pretension. It is sure that the Buddha was an Aryan and claimed to be so. But the race developed outlandish customs and practices which were not at all approved by Vedic orthodox community. Secondly, there is no unchallengeable evidence that he had a schooling in the Vedic tradition. Sacrificial

1. Oldenberg, *Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*, pp. 398-99.
2. The matrimonial alliance of Prasenajita with the Śākyas had a tragic character. The Śākyas were so proud of their racial status that they gave the daughter of a slave to Prasenajita in marriage. Vidurdarbha, the son of the pair became the king of Kosala after his father's death and came to learn of the fraud perpetrated by the Śākyas. He took terrible revenge and is said to have exterminated the whole Śākyan clan by way of retaliation.
3. Ambaṭṭha Sutta, *DN*. I, p. 81, paragraph 1 and *SN* Pārāyaṇa-Vagga, Vathugāthā, Verse 16 and Pabbajjā Sutta, verse 19.

religion which is advocated in the *Karmakāṇḍa* meets with unmitigated condemnation at his hands.[1] There are no records, legendary or historical, about the performance of Vedic sacrifices by the Śākya princes. His knowledge of esoteric portion of the Vedas, that is to say, the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, is next to nothing. Though he condemned the Vedic religion and philosophy, he had no first-hand knowledge of the literature. We need not dilate on this issue. It ought to suffice that the sixty-two heretical sects and their doctrines which have been condemned by the Buddha in the Brahmajāla Sutta of the *Digha Nikāya* cannot by any stretch of imagination be construed as belonging to the orthodox Vedic tradition, earlier or later. The point at which we are driving is to make out that the Buddha had not been born in orthodox Vedic faith, nor had he any occasion to cultivate acquaintance with the Vedic lore.

In the field of religion it may be noted that towns in this period must have been few and it was in villages which still form the greater part of India, that Brahmanism grew up. The Brahmins followed various professions but the life which was most respected was that devoted to learning and recitation of sacred texts, performance of ceremonies and theological discussion. The later law-books divide a Dvija's (those entitled to sacred thread) life into four *Āśramas* in which he was successively a *Brahamacārin* or student; a *Gṛhastha* or householder performing series of ceremonies and sacrifices and domestic observances; a *Vānaprastha* or hermit; and a *Sanyāsin* or ascetic. The tradition that it is commendable for men and women to abandon their family and take to stoic life has at all times been strong in India, but the Brahmanic literature insisted that the devout must perform the ritual observance prescribed for householders before doing so.[2]

1. Cf Brāhamaṇadhammika, Vaseṭṭha and Sundarikabhāradvāja Suttas of the *SN*, *KhN*, Vol. I.
2. In the Vedas and subsequent Dharmaśāstras it is laid down preemptorily that a Brahmin and for that matter the other two upper castes, who were entitled to study the Vedas and for whom it was imperative to observe the social and religious ceremonies, are born with three debts. The first debt was due to the sages of the old whose duty it was to transmit the knowledge of the Vedas and ultimate mysteriesof life. This debt was called Ṛṣi Ṛṇa which could be repaid only by acquiring the knowledge of the Vedas. The second debt was due to gods which could be repaid by sacrifices and ceremonies prescribed in the Vedas. The first debt was satisfied by theoretical knowledge and the second by its practical application in one's daily life. The other debt is owed to the ancestors (*Pitars*). A man is indebted to his ancestors for his physical existence. This debt was to be paid off by the production of progeny for the satisfaction of the ancestors in heaven or other forms of life. The Brahmins were not doctrinaire theologians, but were deeply interested in the preservation of family, society and the state. They recognised the strong and weak points of mankind and for their guidance and discipline they devised laws, civil and criminal and the king was to see that these rules of life were observed by people. Marriage was regarded as a sacred duty and barrenness of woman was looked upon as a calamity. The family line must be preserved. One must not snap the chord of family line (cf "Prajā tantumṃā vyavachetsih"—*Taitiriya Upaniṣad*, p. 69-1/11.4). The Buddhists, the Jains and the other orders of monks who gave up the worldly life and looked upon family life and social obligations as undesirable bondage, were interested in the destruction of family life which ultimately led to the enervation and dissolution of the state and the large part of the public were vocal in their protest against this otherworldliness (cf "Tena kho pana samayena abhiññātā abhiññātā māgadhikā kulaputtā bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caranti. Manussā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti-aputtakatāya paṭipanno samaṇo gotamo, vedhabyāya paṭipanno samaṇo gotamo kulūpacchedāya paṭipanno samaṇo gotamo......"—*MV*, p. 41). An ideal Brahmin was to be satisfied with the minimum requirements of family and social life. They were not self-centred, nor were they satisfied with the promotion of personal welfare. They handsomely acknowledged the truth the ascetic's profession was made possible by the sacrifices of the householders and the state. If we are to believe in the literal statements of the Buddhists and Jains as embodied in the canons, it puzzles a modern man how such parasites upon the social economy could be allowed to foster on charity. Unlike the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddha and the Buddhist monks were not interested in the preservation of family life and they professed to have no belief in the

Buddhism differs from Brahmanism in the sense that former preaches the renunciation of family ties and the latter clearly lays down that it is a man's duty to continue his family

and help his fellow men just as much as to engage in religious exercises. But the best minds were occupied with leisurely elaboration and discussion of speculative ideas, and self-effacement was both practised and preached. Though roads were few and dangerous, a habit of travel was conspicuous among the religious and intellectual classes. We often hear of Brāhmaṇas travelling in quest of knowledge alone or in companies and stopping at rest houses where discussions on great sacrifices

social hierarchy embodied in the *Varṇāśrama* system. The Ambaṭṭha Sutta lays the axe at the very root of the profession of a Brahmin. The story that the Brahmin was born of a slave girl of the Śākyas, is rather defamatory. This shows that even the ideal ascetic could not rid his mind of the pride of birth. Whatever may be the pretensions of the Buddhists, it is extremely doubtful that the Kṣatriya was accepted as the highest caste in society. The honour and homage of the people was spontaneously accorded to the Brahmins. At most we may draw the conclusion that there were certain Kṣatriya clans who were not reconciled to the claims of supremacy of the Brahmins. This was not only the case with the Buddhists but also the Jains. The miraculous transference of Mahāvīra from the womb of his Brahmin mother to that of a Kṣatriya lady is a pointer to this attitude. But the propagation of the Buddhist and Jain religions owes a debt to the Brahmin disciples of the Buddha and Mahāvīra It is a pity that these stories have created a spirit of antagonism between the two leading castes. The sole interest of the Brahmins was the preservation of law and order, prosperity, economy and political and spiritual life of the people at large. Their knowledge and wisdom were consecrated to the preservation of the race and integrity of the territory for which they had not to make any demand for returns. Hinduism still survives because of the Brahmins' services. If the Brahmins lose their ideal and follow the lucrative professions which were earmarked for other castes, the Hindu religion will lose its major flavour. It bespeaks the wonderful generosity of the intellect of the Brahmins that they have tried to absorb all that was good in the doctrines of the Buddhist and Jains. This is quite evident even to a casual reader of the *Mahābhārata*. The Buddha has been respected as an incarnation of god and the Brahmin will not ostracize any man or woman for visiting a Buddhist temple and worshipping the Buddha. But such an attitude is not reciprocated by the Buddhists and Jains.

were frequently held.[1] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the two-fold sacrifices, viz., oblations to the gods and gifts to the priests; these two thus gratified convey the worshipper to the heavenly world.[2] It has been contended that the doctrine that a man's deeds cause his future existence and determine his character was apparently not popular among the priesthood who claimed that they, by their rites, could manufacture heavenly bodies for their clients.[3]

This picture of religious life in India so far as it can be gathered from the older Brahmanic books has reference mainly to the kingdoms of the Kuru-Pañcālas and Videha in 800-600 B.C. Another picture is found in the ancient literature of the Buddhists which depicts the kingdom of Magadha and Kosala in the time of Buddha, i.e., 700-600 B.C. In the Buddhist sphere, we have already said that in the youth of Gautama the Buddha, Brahmanic doctrines and rituals, though known, were not predominant.

A striking feature of the world in which Buddhism arose was the prevalence of various confraternities or religious

1. "Jānaśruti pautrāyaṇaḥ sarvata āvasthān māpayāncakre sarvata evame yakṣyantiti"—*Chāndogyopaniṣad*, Chapter IV, 1, p. 352.
2. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II.2.2.6 and IV.3.4.4.
3. But this contention seems to be inspired by imperfect understanding of the Vedic religion. The Brahmins maintained in pursuance of the scriptures that the performance of the highest sacrifices like *Aśvamedha*, *Rājasūya* or *Vājapeyya* by kings and emperors at the expense of enormous resources, led the sacrificers to heaven This does not abrogate the law of *Karma*. It has been unfortunately forgotten that the Buddha himself foretold the attainment of high heaven by Viśākha and other admirers who made benefactions to the *Saṃgha*, i.e., order of monks. Worship of the Buddha in later days has been regarded as an act of high merit which leads the benefactor to heaven. Whether these acts are productive of the results claimed by the Buddhist, are as much a mystery as the Vedic sacrifices which are said to be the causes of heavenly life. In fact the causal connection is never amenable to empirical evidence, the truths behind the claims of the observances are accepted only by those who have faith. A religion, it must be observed, is three-fourths of faith and one-fourth of reason, and Buddhism, Jainism or Christianity are not exceptions.

orders. The *Parivrājakas* or *Śramaṇas* were the other companies somewhat opposed to the Bráhmaṇas though offering many differences among themselves. They did not maintain that religious knowledge was the exclusive privilege of the Brahmin caste. They were not householders but wanderers and celibates. Often they were ascetics and addicted to extreme forms of self-mortification. They did not perform sacrifices and their speculations were often revolutionary and, as a rule, not theistic. Though these monks were celibates and to some extent recluses, for they mixed with the world only in a limited degree, they were not confined to cloisters, but spent greater part of the year in wandering. The practice of adopting a wandering religious life was frequent amongst the upper class, though well-to-do people were dissuading their children from the step. These monks lived upon alms offered to them by the good souls, who gave indiscriminately to all holy men. In the larger places rest houses were erected for their comfort and religious discourses, these discourses were liked by the highly intelligent men among whom material civilization had not kept pace with the growth of thought and speculation.

He who would study any doctrine had to become the pupil of a master inasmuch as writing was not used for religious purposes. The doctrine too involved a discipline or mode of life. Hence these monks easily grew into communities or orders or sects. The Buddhist Saṃgha proved to be the most successful of them. Yet it was modelled on existing institution[1].

1 The Buddha had perhaps no idea of establishing brotherhood in a monastery. His disciples were wandering monks and had no observances of their own. Even in the rainy season they used to walk freely and begged alms. People were discontented with the wanton behaviour of the Buddhist monks and made loud complaints against their laxity. They did not observe even full moon and new moon congregation. On the advice of king Bimbisara the Buddha instituted these rules among his fol owers which were regularly practised by monks of other orders. But though the Buddhist order proved to be an instance of a Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest, this good fortune cannot be ascribed to the organising genius of the founder who simply lent his countenance to the prevalent customs of the homeless wanderers of the time. Cf *MV*, pp. 105-8 and *MVas*, II.1. and III 1.

In the *Brahmajāla* Sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* as many as sixty-two heretical views have been criticised by the Buddha. These views are mentioned not perhaps because they represent the tenets of real schools but from a desire to condemn all possible deviations. The Sutta reveals the problems which agitated ancient Magadha regarding eternity and infinity of the world, causal relation of things, conscious or unconscious, temporary or permanent existence of soul and the possibility of its attaining perfect bliss here or hereafter.

The *Dīgha-Nikāya Sāmaññaphala* Sutta, probably represents current statements as to the doctrine of each sect. The six materialist teachers are also mentioned in several other passages of the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima Nikāyas* and also in the *Sutta Nipāta*. One of them was the founder of the Jains or the atheistic *Karmavādins*. The other was Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, an agnostic similar to the eel-wrigglers. The other four were somewhat like fatalists and materialists then called *Akriyāvādins*. Pūraṇakassapa denies that there is any merit in virtue or harm in murder. Ajita Kesakambalī teaches that nothing but the four elements exist and fools and the wise alike are annihilated after death. Similarly Pakudha Kaccāna states that when a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain the soul and pain play a part similar to that played by the component elements of the sword and head. The doctrine of Makkhali Gosāla denies causation and free-will, and asserts that fools and the wise alike will make an end of pain after wandering through eighty-four hundred thousand births. His followers were called *Ājīvakas*. They appear to have objected to the joint living of the confraternities. They enjoined a solitary life, absolute nudity and extreme forms of self-mortification, such as eating filth. Perhaps these sects were ancient prototypes of the lower class of religious mendicants.[1]

1. As has been indicated, the tenets which are supposed to be held by the heretical thinkers are perhaps imaginary constructions intended to demonstrate the worthlessness of the *Ātman* theory. The importance of the *Brahmajāla* lies in the fact that the Buddhists of all schools, though they differed from one another as widely as they differed from the Brahmanical and Jain doctrines, all agreed on the point that the

The religion of the Brahmins was the thought of a class. The various un-Brahmanic confraternities usually required their members to be wandering ascetics. They had little to say to village householders who constituted the majority. Priests and nobles, however much they quarrelled, combined to keep the lower castes in subjugation. Yet we can hardly doubt that, then as now, all classes were profoundly religious and village deities unknown to the Vedas or the Purāṇas were worshipped by millions and these gods and rites did not lack popular attention. Offerings to ancestors and many ceremonies mentioned in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* were performed by far larger classes of the population than the greater sacrifices.

Secondly, in the spells and charms of the *Atharva Veda* it appears that mankind are persecuted by a host of evil spirits and they protect themselves by charms addressed directly to their tormentors or by invoking the aid of beneficent powers. The

individual soul is only a figment of the imagination. But it is curious that none of the theories have been subscribed to by the schools of philosophers whose works have come down to us. In point of fact the reasons advanced in support of their respective positions by the heretical thinkers are puerile prattle. The Brahmanical schools which upheld the reality of soul could assert in the face of these criticism of the Buddha, "My withers are unwrung." Whether one may agree or not with the reasons adduced by the philosophers of *Nyāya Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṅsā* and *Vedānta* and also Jaina school, one cannot dismiss them in a cavalier fashion. The later Buddhists who took to philosophy as the medium of their culture had had the guts to criticise these theories with strong and convincing arguments. But the differences of philosophers are more academic than theological. It is seldom found that they incur *odium theologicum*.

It may smack of temerity on the part of a modern scholar to assert that the Buddha had not received his schooling in an academic institution. It is almost positive that the Buddha had no acquaintance with the Upaniṣadic speculations which were older than the Buddha. His arguments have no relevance to the Upaniṣadic thoughts. If one looks deeply below the surface, it will strike him that the Buddha's denial of the individual ego, is perilously analogous to Upaniṣadic doctrine that Brahman is the only soul and there is no other beside it. The individual egoes are regarded as phantoms in Śaṅkara's *Vedānta*

protecting powers invoked are often the gods of the *Ṛgveda*, but prayers and incantations are also addressed directly to diseases and demons or, on the other hand, to healing plants and amulets. In such invocations the *Atharva Veda* prefers the invocation to the counter-acting forces to the propitiation of malignant spirits.

Thirdly, various deities like Mahābrahmā or Brahmā Sahampati, Śakra or Indra, Ruling spirits of the Four Quarters visiting the Buddha accompanied by Gandharvas, Kumbhaṇḍas, Nāgas and Yakṣas, the man-eaters, Soma, Varuṇa, Veṇhu, Pajāpati, Sananakumāra play some part in Pali Piṭakas[1]. In the *Brahmajāla* and subsequent *sutras* the Buddha, in *Sila Vagga*, disapproves divination and the use of spells and drugs and presents a list of such practices as of Burnt Offerings and offerings of blood drawn from right knee, worship of the sun, the great earth and *Sree*, the goddess of luck and the oracles obtained from a mirror or from a girl possessed by a spirit or from a god. Rites and beliefs called animistic and disowned mostly by the Buddhists existed in pre-Buddhist India. Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were not prominent as deities in the time of the Buddha.

Similarly there was then a real political change in the sense that our country which was politically split up into small republics, some more aristocratic and the other more democratic, was fast approaching to be under the sway of monarchical governments by absorption of the small republic in the larger kingdoms and ultimately into the United India of Aśoka. Thus the country of the Śākya clan, though an oligarchy, was already under the suzerainty of the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala[2].

The political divisions of India, then called Jambudvipa, during the growth of Buddhism, are detailed in the list of the sixteen great *Janapadas* named after the people of those places as found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and Vinaya texts of the

1. Cf Āṭānāṭīya and Mahāsamaya suttas, *DN*, Vol. II, pp. 189-96 and Vol. III, pp. 150-165.
2. Pabbajā sutta, *SN*, *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 330, verses 18 and 19.

Theravādins[1]. The list runs as follows: (1) Aṅga, (2) Magadha, (3) Kāśi, (4) Kośala, (5) Vṛjji, (6) Malla. (7) Cedi, (8) Vatsa, (9) Kuru, (10) Pañcāla, (11) Matsya, (12) Surasena, (13) Aśmaka or Aśvaka, (14) Avanti, (15) Gandhāra, and (16) Kambuja. The important ones among them from the political point of view were the powerful n onarchies of (a) Magadha subjugating Aṅga which had its capital at Rājagṛha ruled by king Bimbasāra (*M.V.*, p. 286), (b) Kośala with its capital at Śrāvastī ruled over by king Prasenajita[2] who became the suzerain of the Śākyas and who incorporated Kāśī with his kingdom, (c) Vatsa, of ten confused with Cedi, having its capital at Kauśāmbī reigned over by Udayana[3] and (d) Avanti subjecting Aśmaka had its capital Ujjeni ruled over by king Caṇḍa Pradyota[4]. The first two of them were the chief places of Buddha's missionary activities and the rest of them were also visited during his peregrination. Among the rest, the powerful republic of the Vṛjji confederacy with its headquarters in Vaiśālī consisted of eight free clans. The Licchavīs and the Videhas among them were the most important members with Vaiśālī and Mithilā as their capitals.[5] The *Mahāparinibbāṇa* sutta opens with the Magadhan emperor Ajatśatru's preparations to overpower the Vṛjjis, who possessed the 'Seven non-defeatable qualities.'[6]

1. Cf "Seyyathāpi Visākhe, yo imesaṃ solasannaṃ mahājanadānaṃ, pahūtarattaratanānaṃ issarlyādhipaccaṃ rajjaṃ kareyya, seyyathidaṃ —Aṅgānaṃ, Magadhānaṃ, Kāsīnaṃ, Kosalānaṃ, Vajjīnaṃ, Mallānaṃ, Cetīnaṃ, Vaṅgānaṃ, Kurūnaṃ, Pañcānaṃ, Macchānaṃ, Surasenānaṃ, Assakānaṃ, Avantīnaṃ, Gandhārānaṃ, Kambojānaṃ"—*AN*, Vol. I, p. 197; "Rājā māgadho seniyo Bimbisāro"—*MV*, p. 286. Cf "Rājā māgadho Ajtāsattu Vede hiputto"—Sandiṭṭhika Sāmaññahalaṃ, *DN*, Vol. I, p. 41.
2. Cf "Ekaṃ samyaṃ bhagvā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati.........rājāpasenadi Kosalo"—*SamN*, Vol. I, p. 67 and *MV*, p. 160.
3. Cf "Kosāmbiyaṃ......rañño Udenassa"—*KhN*, Vol. I, 160.
4. "Ujjiniyaṃ......rañño Pajjotassa"—*MV*, p. 293.
5. 'Visālikālicchavī, *DN*, p. 128 and 'Mithilā ca Videhānaṃ', p. 178.
6. Cf *DN* II., pp. 59-60. Varṣakāra, the Brahmin minister of Magadha created dissension among the Vṛjjis providing suitable opportunity for the fulfilment of Ajātaśatru's intention of invading them. Prior to

The *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Sutta* throws sufficient light on the judicial anda dministrative system of the Vṛjjis which was fairly complicated but admirable for such an early period of civilization. Kusīnārā where the Buddha died[1] and Pāvā of the Mallas were also independent[2]. Kuru with its capital at Indraprastha had very little political importance during the time of the Buddha who preached the important suttas of *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna*[3] and *Mahānidāna*[4] at Kammāsadammā or Kammāsadhammā of kuru, Kampila and Kannauja were the capitals of Pañcāla, adjacent to which was Matsya. Mathurā, the capital of Surasena, was also visited by the Buddha[5]. It was the residence of Mahākaccāna, one of the most prominent disciples of the Lord[6]. Gandhāra, modern Kandhāra, had Takṣaśilā as its capital where horses were trained and Jīvaka Kumāra Bhṛtya, the famous physician was educated[7]. Kamboja was the neighbouring country in the extreme north-west with Dvārkā as its capital.

Besides the aforesaid important clans of the Śākyas and Licchavis there were the Bhagga clans of Suṃsumāragiri,[8] the Koliyan clans of Rāmagāma[9] and the Moriyan clans of Pipphalivana[10] who had also shared the relics of the Buddha[11].

this Pāṭaligrāma was rehabilitated as a city. It was named as Pāṭaliputta which became a great business centre—"Puṭabhedanaṃ iti Pāṭaliputtaṃ", *Ibid*, p. 71.

1. Cf "Assosi kho Visālikā Licchavī bhagavā kira Kusīnārāyaṃ parinibbuto" *DN*, Vol. II, p. 126.
2. Cf 'Pāveyyakā Mallā', *Ibid*, p. 127.
3. Cf "Bhagavā Kurusu viharati Kammāsadhammā nāma Kurūnaṃ migamo", *Ibid*, p. 217.
4. Cf "Bhagavā Kurusu Kammāsadhammaṃ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo", *Ibid*, p. 44.
5. Cf "Ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā antarā ca Madhuraṃ antarā ca Varañjaṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti", *AN*, Vol. II, p. 60.
6. Cf "Ekaṃ samayaṃ ayasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyaṃ viharati Gundavane. Assosi kho rājā Madhuro avantiputto", *MN*, Vol. II, p. 310.
7. *MV*, pp. 287-'8.
8. Cf 'Bhaggesu Suṃsumāragire', *CV*, p. 216.
9. Cf 'Rāmagāmakā Kolikā, *DN*, Vol. II, p. 127.
10. Cf 'Pipphalivaniyā Moriyā......aṅgāraṃ hariṃsu', *Ibid*, p. 128.
11. *MPS* last.

The royal families had matrimonial relations among themselves and were at war from time to time.

Prasenajita's sister, Kośala Devī, was the stepmother of the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbasāra and Videha Kumārī. When Kośala Devī died of grief of her husband's death caused by Ajātaśatru, the income of Kāśī offered to Magadha as Kośala Devī's dowry was seized and this resulted in a war between Magadha and Kośala. Ajātaśatru had won the battle first[1], but ultimately he was defeated and had to relinquish his claim over Kāśī till he married Prasenajita's daughter, Vajirā in order to regain his old possession as the pin-money of the princess.

Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, indulged in war with Pradyota, the king of Avanti. The commentary on the verses 21-23 of the *Dhammapada* reveals the romatic stories of Udayana with Vāsavadattā, the daughter of king Pradyota.

King Prasenajita of Kośala was married to a Śākyan slavegirl, named Vṛsabha Kṣatriya, by fraud. This infuriated their son Viduradarbha who attacked and ruined many of the Śākyas.

Ajātaśatru is said to have fortified his capital Rājagṛha as a safeguard against the attack likely to be made by the Ujjainī king Pradyota[2]. Regarding the place for conducting the affairs of the government it may be noted that there were *Santhāgāras* or *Sandhāgāras*; i.e., the assembly hall in the principal towns and important places. The problem of Prasenajita's marriage with a Śākyan girl was discussed in the Śākyan assembly at Kapilavastu. So also Ambaṭṭha visited the *Santhāgāra* of Kapilavastu while he had been there to examine if the Buddha possessed the thirty-two signs of a Great Male[3]. In the assembly hall of Kusīnārā the Mallas were discussing the ways to be followed in cremating the body of the Buddha when

1. *SamN*, Vol. I, p. 82.
2. "Tena kho pana samayena rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu vedehiputto rājagahaṃ paṭisaṃkhārāpeti rañño Pajjotassa āsaṅkamāno," *MN*, Vol. III, p. 68.
3. Cf *DN*, Vol. I, Ambaṭṭha Sutta, p. 79.

Ānanda went to inform them of the sad demise of Lord.[1] Each of the villages had a tiny self-governed republic and the local affairs were carried on in open assembly of the householders held in the groves. All government business were carried on through the village headman who was the head of the village council. The systems of three hearings and voting were prevalent for adopting a resolution and electing a representative[2].

Thus, all the important forms of government existed in the India of the Buddha's time. There was monarchy in Magadha, Kośala and Avantī; oligarchy in Śākyan territory and a kind of aristocracy among the Vajjins.

From the cursory description of the cultural and political conditions of the important tracks of India, it can safely be inferred that India enjoyed peace and prosperity, subject, however, to the military incursions of ambitious neighbours. Law and order were firmly established and people had affluence enough to offer hospitality to wandering ascetics who did not contribute to the economic prosperity of the country. Secondly, we can surmise with plausibility that people at large could afford to indulge in higher intellectual and spiritual discussions. The very fact that the general run of the monks strictly observed the discipline of the order, shows that they were accustomed to government by rules and regulations. Rowdyism was tabooed and abhorred. This provided an ideal milieu for the propagation of such intellectual and highly moral religions. A large amount of attention was devoted to ethical and philosophical questions during this period and this was possibly due to the economic stability of the country.

Now let us examine the economic condition of India which witnessed the emergence of Buddhism. Sporadic references in Buddhist canonical texts throw some light on the economic position of the country during this period. Ajātasátru in course of his query to the Buddha, "if there were imme-

1. Cf "Tena kho pana samayena kosinārakā mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti......Ánando......tenūpasaṅkami", sixth Bhāṇavāra, *DN*, Vol. II, p. 122.
2. *Nacca Jātaka; Vinaya Piṭaka, MV*, pp. 53-54.

diate benefits of becoming a recluse," presents a long list of different occupations which served the politico-economic needs of the time. The list runs as the following: Elephant-riders, cavalry, charioteers, archers, different types of army folk, slaves, cooks, barbers, both-attendants, confectioners, garland-makers, washermen, weavers and dyers, basket-makers, potters, clerks, accountants and others.[1] These are the persons connected with the services of a king whereas the Buddha, in reply, mentions the peasantry. Apart from agriculture there were several branches of handicrafts like workers in woods, metal, stone, leather, ivory, butchery, hunting, sailing and painting as referred to different Jātaka stories.[2]

We hear of the *Bodhisattva* Siddhārtha to be as pure as the gems placed on the fine muslin of Kāśī when he had come out of Mahāmāyā's womb.[3] Monks are forbidden to use the embroidered shoes.[4] The sailors make exports to the city of Babylon,[5] Tāmraparṇī[6] (modern Śrī Lankā) and other foreign countries by boats. They sail through Sūrpāraka, Bharukakṣa[7] and other inland and foreign ports and use *Kārṣāpaṇa*[8] in transaction of money. The purchasing power of *Kārṣāpaṇa* was great in those days. The merchants conveyed the goods travelling in caravans through boats or carts.[9] There were no good roads or bridges and hence the slow drive. The enormous traffic of today was not-existent. The Pali canons preserve accounts of the journeys of the wandering teachers[10] who would have generally followed the already established routes used by traders specially for longer journeys. On the basis of the same,

1. Sāmaññaphala Sutta, *DN*, Vol. I, p. 52.
2. JRAS for 1901, pp. 863, 864, *Ibid*, 865, 864, 873, *Ibid*, 872 and 865 respectively, Mrs. Rhys David's article.
3. *JA*, Siddhārtha's birth in Lumbini grove, p. 41.
4. *MV*, p. 204—6 and *DN* I, p. 9 (Citrupāhanaṃ).
5. *Bāberū Jātaka*.
6. *Balāhassa Jātaka*.
7. *Suppāraka Jātaka*.
8. *Bāberu Jātaka*.
9. Ibid, *Vannupatha Jātaka*.
10. *Pārāyanavaggā*, *Vatthugāthā*, *SN*.

Rhys Davids has presented the following routes of that period: (a) Śrāvastī to Pratisṭṭhāna, i.e. north to south with the stopping places Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vidisa, Gonaddha, Ujjainī and Mahissati (b) Śrāvasti to Rājagṛha, i.e., north to south-east a circuitous route with the crossing of rivers close to the hills, had the stopping places Setavya, Kapilavastu, Kuśīnārā, Pāvā, Hastigrāma, Bhaṇḍagrāma, Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and Nālandā. The road probably went to Gayā where it met another route from the coast (possibly at Tāmralipti)[1] to Banaras. Besides these, we are told of traders going from Videha to Gandhāra, from Magadh to Sovira, from Bharukakṣa round the coast of Burma, from Banaras down the rivers to its mouth and thence on to Burma and from Campā to the same destination.

Fields were divided into plots in accordance with the number of families who took its share in the produce. But they had no proprietary right as against the community. Women had no separate share in the land. The position of peasantry was even better than today. There is no mention of forced labour. None of the householders could be called rich. There was a sufficiency for their simple needs as also a sense of security and independence. There were neither landlords nor paupers[1]. The villagers were proud of their standing and they were governed by their own headmen who were selected by them. From all this, it is evident that life was then prosperous and peaceful.

A close scrutiny of the history of the different castes in India will reveal that the Brahmins represented the intelligentsia of the society. They recited the Vedas and other wonderful Brahmanic literature and served the society as religious preceptors,[3] academic teachers[4] and political advisers.[5] They

1. Now called Tamaluk.
2. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 34-36.
3. Brāhmaṇas were invited on the naming day of Siddhārtha Kumāra, *JA*, p. 43.
4. Buddha was brought to the writing school where Viśvāmitra Brāhmāṇa was the writing master.
5. Sunīddha and Varṣakāra Brāhmaṇas were the advisers and ministers of the Magadhan king, Ajātaśatru—*MPS*, *DN*, Vol. II, p. 70.

did not hanker after wealth or power. They were mostly poor but highly esteemed in the society. The offerings, gifts or endowments granted to them for the purpose of attending to the rites and ceremonies as priests, were probably the only source of their income and with this they were satisfied. They were the hereditary teachers and the pioneers of new thoughts. Even during the period of Buddhist ascendancy they maintained their *status quo*. Sāriputra, Maudgallyādana, Pañcavargiya monks and several others among the important disciples of the Buddha were Brahmins. The Kṣatriyas as the protectors and supreme lords of the land representing the nobles in the society were very powerful and wealthy. Priests and nobles in India have always worked very well together so long as the question at issue did not touch their own rival claims as against one another. When it did, and it did so especially during the period of the Buddha, the harmony was not so great. It appears from the account of the Pali *Nikāya* that the Brāhmaṇas of the Buddha's time had become very rich[1] and were seen sometimes disregarding even the powerful Kṣatriyas[2], who are said to have enjoyed probably the highest rank in the society,[3] and despised the still lower castes of Vaiśyas, Śūdras and Caṇḍālas.[4] The relation between the representatives of one religious sect with the other had gone worse and more bitter.[5] The sacrificing Brāhmaṇas were now hankering after money, wealth and luxuries and hence there was deterioration in the sense of reverence which they enjoyed in the society[6]. Without proper

1. *K*Kasībhāradvāja sutta and Vāseṭṭha sutta, *KhN*, Vol. I, pp. 280 and 362.
2. Ambaṭṭha sutta and Sonadaṇḍa sutta—*DN*, Vol. I, pp. 79 & 98. ff.
3. In the Ambaṭṭha sutta the Buddha on the basis of the usage deduces that since the child of a mixed union between the castes is accepted by the Brahmins as one of themselves, but not by the Kṣatriyas, because he is not of pure descent, the Kṣatriyas are higher and the Brahmins lower.
4. Cf Vasala sutta, *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 362.
5. Cf Vaseṭṭha sutta and Sundarikabhāradvāja sutta—*SN* and Ambaṭṭha sutta of *DN*, Vol. I.
6. Brāhmaṇa Dhammika sutta, *SN*, *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 311.

knowledge of religion and philosophy, they claimed to know them by virtue of the fact that they belonged to the family of the priests. As such, when the Buddha belonging to the Kṣatriya clan took the lead to raise his voice against the hereditary priestly Brāhmins, it was natural that the common mass should be attracted to listen to his new theories of life and behaviour where greater importance was attached to the purification of mind, to the action and to eternal bliss rather than to the external purification of body, to the sacrifices and to the temporal gains.

When the nomadic tribe began cultivation of lands, the use of iron-technology amply contributed to the large land-owning, commerce and urbanisation. Brahmanical hold which favoured supriority by birth was thwarting this evolutionary process of economic and social change. Its opposition by the Buddha in tune with this evolutionary process naturally attracted the wide support of the big land-owners (*Gahapati*) and business-magnates (*Seṭṭhi*).

Thus this period of the seventh century B.C. prepared grounds for the emergence of such a revolutionary, ethical and evolutionary religion as Buddhism.

2

Buddha's Birth and Domestic Life

Section I

Birth-Place and Family

The authors of the Upaniṣads are nameless and even Mahāvīra is unknown outside India. The historical character of the Buddha, who must be ranked among the greatest leaders of thought that the world has seen, has also been called in question. But at the present day probably few, if any, competent judges doubt that he was a real person whose date can be fixed, whose birth-place may be identified and whose life can be sketched at least in outline. His personality is more distinct and life-like than that of many later teachers.

Regarding his date of birth we have already stated our views in the previous chapter and as regards the place of his birth it is known that the would-be Buddha was born in the *Sāla* grove of Lumbinī and the site, or at least what was supposed to be the site in Aśoka's time, is marked by a pillar erected by the pious monarch at a place now called Rummindei (District Bhairhwa, Nepalese Tarai) in the *Janapada* of Kapilavastu, a Śākyan territory. This was a place half-way between Kapilavastu and Devadah. The former place was the headquarters of the Śākyan clan to which the Buddha belonged from his father's side and the latter was the chief town of the Koliyans who were the neighbour and maternal relations of

the Buddha.[1] The fifth Gāthā of *Nālaka Sutta* in the *Sutta-Nipāta* also confirms Lumbinī to be his birth-place[2], as also does the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*[3] of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*.

Rockhill, on the basis of the legends found in the Tibetan *Dulva*, says in his book entitled *The Life of the Buddha*, that Ikṣvāku Viruddhaka's children came to the hermitage of the *Ṛṣi* Kapila on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and built huts of leaves which later on turned to be a town called Kapilavastu. When they had become very numerous, they built another town, which they called Devadaha, a town known in the southern tradition as Koli.

Now, even if we do not accept the authenticity of the legend for granted as regards the events leading to the foundation of Kapilavastu and Devadaha it is almost universally accepted that Lumbini in Kapilavastu was the birth-place of the Buddha. Modern investigations have placed this country of the Śākyas in the north-eastern portion of Uttara Pradesa between Bahraich and Gorakhpur. Kapilavastu of Fa-Hien lies at Piprava, nine miles north-west of Padaria, and that of Yuan Chinang, it is Tilaura Kot, fourteen miles north-west. Thus there had been rival identifications of the legendary sites[4].

1. Cf "Icchāmahaṃ deval kulasantikaṃ Devadaha nagaraṃ......Kapila vatthuto yāva Devadahanagaraṃ samaṃ kāretvā......dvinnaṃ pana nagarānaṃ antare ubhaya nagaravāsīnaṃ pi Lumbinī vanaṃ nāma mangalasālavanaṃ atthi...gabbhavuṭṭhānaṃ ahosi"—*JA*, Lumbini Vane, p. 41.
2. Cf "So Bodhisatto......jāto Sakyānaṃ gāme janapade Lumbineyye", *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 37.
3. Cf "Khattiyo jātiya......khattiyakule udapādi...Gotamo gottena...... assatthassamūle.........Sāriputtamoggallānānaṃ nāma sāvakayugaṃ, mayahaṃ......ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīnasavānaṃ. Ānando nāma bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko ahosi aggūpaṭṭhāko. Mayahaṃ bhikkhave, etarahi Suddhodano nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Māyā nāma devi mātā ahosi, janetti. Kapilavatthu nāma nagaraṃ rājadhānī", *DN* II, pp. 4-8.
4. The finds of the recent excavations at Piprahvā, District Basti, Uttar Pradesh, include a casket of the Buddha's relics and forty-one seals

In *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* Ānanda mentions six great sites where it would be more fitting for the Buddha to pass away, but 'Kapilavatthu' is not one of them.

Throughout the commentaries and Sanskrit works the legend prevails that the Buddha was the son of a king named Śuddhodana of the Kṣatriya clan known as the descendant of famous ancestors and that he would have become a universal king, had he not renounced the world. The story of the Buddha's birth and youth is a continuation of the legend of the royal line of the Śākyas, but there is even less of this story to be found in the canon than there is of the early genealogy of the royal house. The succession of the Śākyas and the Koliyas, making inter-marriage with one another, came down to king Sinhahanu who had five sons including Śuddhodana or pure rice. Śuddhodana ruled the kingdom of Kapilavastu and Devadaha was reigned over by Suprabuddha. The legend in the *Dulva* states that Suprabuddha married a lady named Lumbinī. She brought forth a child called Māyā, better known as Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the mother of Nanda and our Buddha's foster-mother. Sometimes after, a second daughter was born. She was called Mahāmāyā. Suprabuddha offered the hands of his daughters to Siṅhahanu for the latter's son, Śuddhodana. The *Lalitavistara* says that Māyā and Mahāmāyā are the names of the same lady. According to the Pali canon Māyā (or Mahāmāyā) and Mahāprajāpati Gotami were the daughters of Anjana, the son of Devadaha the Śākya.

Mahāmāyā bore no children for a long time and hence when our would-be Buddha was born of her, he was named Siddhārtha[1] inasmuch as the long-cherished desire of Śuddhodana to have a child, was thus fulfilled.

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inscribing the legend '*Śrīkapilavastu mahāvihāriya āryabhikṣu-saṃghasya*' in typical Kuṣāṇa-Brahmi characters. Thus the long dispute regarding the exact location of Kapilavastu whether in Nepal or Uttar Pradesh has been settled with the conclusion that it is in Uttar Pradesh and not in Nepal.

1. Cf Verse—17, Canto II, Aśvaghoṣa's *BC*.

The Buddha is called Gotama in the sense of his *Gotra* which literally meaning 'Cow-stall', is a clan whose members claim to have descended from the ancient Brahmin *Ṛṣi* Gautama. The members of this clan, having been born as the sun arose, were called 'Sūryavṇasī, or of the sun family. Since they were the children of Gautama, they were called Aṅgīrasa and having been found in a sugarcane plantation, they were called Ikṣvāku. The last one of them called Ikṣvāku Viruddhaka, exiled his sons who travelled towards the Himalayan mountains and built the towns of Kapilavastu and Devadaha. King Viruddhaka, having known their adventures addressed them as "The daring young men" and from this they were known as 'Śākyas', the last descendant from whom was Siṅhahanu Pali (Sīhahanu), the father of Śuddhodana.

Even if we disbelieve these legends we can safely accept that the Buddha was the son of a Śākyan chief named Śuddhodana and his family title was Gautama.

Now let us examine his family position if it was so distinguished as to be called the family of a king or that simply of an aristocratic chief.

Rockhill, on the basis of the Tibetan *Dulva*, puts that during king Siṅhahanu's reign the country of Kapilavastu enjoyed peace and prosperity as also did the country of Devadaha, over which Suprabuddha was reigning. Our Buddha's father, in one passage of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*.[1], is called Rājā: and in other texts invariably styled as *Mahārājā* perhaps only punctiliously. The family is praised, in half a dozen passages, as well-connected and of high repute; but not even once as royal. Thus the Buddha's father's kingship is doubtful. Rhys Davids says that as used of the clansmen generally the title 'Rājā', was more polite, as the word connoted a position of hereditary importance in the clan and this was the simple basis on which the later legends of royalty were built up. The period of great kingdoms, such as the Kosalas and Magadhas, was a later development, and the title of Rājā need not have implied more than the head of the tribe, such as each of the nobles

1. *DN*, II, p. 8.

being a Rājā in the arisrocratic organisation of the Vijjīs.[1] There are traces of aristocratic rule in the legends of the Śākyas. We find the assembly of the Śākyas mentioned and the Rājās spoken in the plural. Amongst those who share the relics of the Buddha are king Ajātaśatru and the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, but no king of the Śākyas is mentioned. The Śākyas are treated like the local tribes and round them were several tribes such as the Koliyas, the Mallas, the different groups of Licchavīs and others, who were overrun by the empire of the Magadhas. In the *Majjhima-Nikāya*[2], king Prasenajita describes the Buddha and himself as Kośalas. This suggests that Kapilavastu was included in Kośala. Oldenberg, on the ground of absence of the word, 'Rājā', 'Rājabhavana' 'Rājakumāra', or the like in the *Nālaka Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, asserts that the Buddha did not belong to the royal family. In also the *Pabbajā Sutta* of the same book and in the *Mahāvastu* the Bodhisattva discloses his identity to the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, as a descendant of the Āditya or solar dynasty of the Śākyas, in the country on the slopes of the Himālayas, rich in wealth and heroes, who dwell among the Kośalas[3]. Similarly in a long list of the praises of the Buddha in the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* and the *Kūṭadanta-Sutta* of the *Digha-Nikāya* the ascetic Gotama is said to be of a noble and wealthy Kṣatriya family but not the son of a king or heir to the throne.[4] Verses 151-54 of the *Sela Sutta*[3] in the *Sutta-Nipāta* contain the theory of the marks of a *Mahāpuruṣa* according to which our Buddha would become a *Cakravartin rājā*, unless he should leave the world to become king of the *Dhamma*, to which the Buddha reveals that he is indeed a king of the *Dhamma*.

1 'Ete rājā śabdopajīvinaḥ'—*KA*.
2. *MN*, II, p. 371.
3. Verses 18 and 19, *MVas*, pp. 198-99.
4. "Samaṇo khalu gotamo, mahantaṃ nātisaṃghaṃ......pahūtaṃ hiraññasuvaṇṇaṃ. ...uccakulā...... asaṃbhinnakhattiyakulā...addhākula... mahaḍḍhanā mahābhogā...pabbajito"—*DN*, Vol. I, p. 100. Cf *BC* verse 17, canto II.
5. *KhN*, *I*, p. 357.

However, this much is certain that the Śākyas were a small aristocratic republic and had recognised the suzerainty of the neighbouring Kośala at the time of the Buddha's birth and they were subsequently annexed by it and even when independent they were not a monarchy like Kośala and Magadha.

The political and administrative business of the clan was transacted by an assembly which met in a council hall[1] at Kapilavastu. Its president was styled 'Rājā' who, according to some scholars, was elective and thus causing Buddha's father to be spoken of sometimes as 'Rājā' and at other times as a simple citizen[2].

Now let us consider the individual incidents of *Bodhisattva* Siddhārtha's life beginning from his miraculous conception and down to his renunciation of worldly life, which, though legendary, afford sufficient materials to determine his affluent family position.

Section II

Miraculous Conception, Birth and Asita's Prediction

The *Nidānakathā* and the *Lalitavistara* say that Gautama, in a previous birth, having made the resolution under Dīpankara to become a Buddha, was born after many births in the Tuṣita heaven, a heaven of the world of desire. Here he stayed until the due time for his rebirth in his last existence. When the gods announced that a new Buddha was to arise, the *Bodhisattva* took leave of the gods and descended to earth. The canonical account is given in the *Acchariya Abbhutadhamma Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in which Ānanda recites the miraculous events of the conception and birth of the Lord. The other versions also narrate the same tale.

Our Buddha is stated to have entered Mahāmāyā's womb

1. "Tena kho pana samayena sambahulā sakyā ceva sakyā kumārāca sandhāgāre uccesu āsanesu nissinnā honti"—*DN*, I, Ambaṭṭha Sutta, p. 79.
2. "Tena kho pana samayena Bhaddiyo sakyarājā sakyānaṃ rajjaṃ kāreti"—*CV*, p. 280.

in the form of a white elephant with a lotus in his mouth. His mother dreamed to be lifted and carried to the Himalayas.

Next day when the queen awoke and communicated her dream to the king, sixty-four eminent Brahmin soothsayers were summoned. They predicted about the dream that she would bring forth a son, with thirtytwo signs of a great man, to become a *Cakravartin* monarch or a Tathāgata Arhat, a perfectly enlightened Buddha[1].

The *Nidānakathā* then gives a detailed account of the future Buddha's birth and the miraculous scenes caused thereby.

These legends of our Bodhisattva's miraculous conception and birth are traditional with every Budddha.

On the day of our future Buddha's birth, seven other beings are also said to have been born : the *Bodhi* tree or the tree of Enlightenment, the Bodhisattva's wife and mother of Rāhula, the four bases of treasure, his elephant, his horse Kanthaka, Channa the charioteer and Kāludayin who, bitten by the viper, had gone 'Kālā' or black and was the minister's son[2]. They all appear again in the legend. The Bodhisattva is said to have been escorted back to Kapilavastu by the inhabitants of both the cities on the same day of his birth.[3] His mother, like those of all other Bodhisattvas died seven days after his birth and was born in *Tuṣita* heaven. The day of his conception was the full moon day of *Uttarāsārha*, the second of the two lunar constellations from which the month *Asārha* takes its name. This corresponds with the traditional date of his birth on the full moon day of *Vaiśākha*[4] and this is also the traditional date of his enlightenment and death.

Pali being held to be older, its legend may possibly be treated as the older form at least in outline in preference to

1. Cf Verse 34, Canto I, *BC* by Aśvaghoṣa, a poet of the first century.
1. Rockhill mentions the birth of Prasenajita in Śrāvastī, of Bimbisāra in Rājagṛha, of Udayana in Kausāmbi and of Pradyota in Ujjayanī on the same day of Sarvārthasiddha born to Śuddhodana. Yaśodharā, the wife of Bodhisattva is said to have been born that very day.
2. The *BC* mentions that *Bodhisattva* was brought back to the city sev days after his birth . Cf verses 18 and 19, Canto I.
3. The *LV* records this as the date of the conception.

those of the rest of the two Sanskrit books, i.e. the *Lalitavistara* and the Mahāvastu.

After the birth of our *Bodhisattva* Rockhill says that he was taken to bow down at the feet of Sākyavardhana Yakṣa, but the Yakṣa himself bowed down at his reet. This caused the epithats 'Śākyamuni' or the mighty one of the Śākyas and '*Devātideva*', that is the god of gods added to the Bodhisattva's name.

On the day of the Bodhisattva's birth a sage called Asita or Kāla Devala, i.e. the black, beheld the gods of *Trāyastriṅśa* rejoicing. The Bodhisattva was born in a Śākyan village in Lumbinī with a view to moving the wheel of the Law at *Ṛṣipattana* the Dear Park near Banāras, now called Sāranātha. This had caused their rejoicing. Asita rushed to Śuddhodana's house and was delighted much to see the boy endowed with the marks of a great man. He declared "Supreme is he, the highest of men.[1]" But he then wept[2] to visualise that he, on account of his old age, would no longer remain alive to listen to His immortalising doctrine after Enlightenment for which He (the Bodhisattva) was already booked. Asita, however, inspired his nephew Nālaka[3] to avail himself of the opportunity when it came and to practise the religious life with the Buddha. Perhaps the oldest version of the story of Asita's definite prediction particularly regarding the Bodhisattva's Enlightenment is preserved in the *Nālaka Sutta*. Rockhill mentions that Asita made the prediction about Bodhisattva's renunciation in His twenty-ninth year after which He became an ascetic and practised austerities for six years and thereafter found the nectar of cessation of death (*Amṛtarasa*). The *Nidāna Kathā* version, naming the sage as *Tāpasa* (i.e. the ascetic) Kāladevala, mentions the age of the Enlightenment at His thirty-fifth.

The child was named Siddhārtha.[4] It may be noted here

1. Nālaka Sutta of the *SN* and verses 49, 57 and 60 of the *BC*, canto I.
2. Nālaka Sutta of the *SN* and verses 61, 68 and 69 of the *BC*, canto I.
3. Nālaka Sutta of the *SN* and verse 81 of the *BC*, canto I.
4. Like the *NK*, the *LV* also mentions Siddhārtha as his name, but Rockhill mentions it as Sarvārtha Siddha on the basis of the *Dulva*

that Siddhārtha was Bodhisattva's personal name, Gautama, the name of his *Gotra* corresponding to a surname, and less comprehensive than his clan name was Śākya. His titles of Buddha or the awakened or wise one, *Bhagvā* or the lord, Śākya Muni or Śākya Siṁha, which are his usual designation and last of all Tathāgata for Gautama himself as a substitute for the first personal pronoun meaning one who has come in the proper manner, a holy man conforming to a type and is one in a series of Buddha, are customary to describe the Buddha by these titles instead of addressing him merely by his surname which were used before Enlightenment.

Now we propose to discuss Bodhisattva's life as a householder.

Section III

Education, Marriage and Domestic Life

Though the epithets like "*Vijjācaraṇasampanno, Lokavidū, Purisadammasārathī, Satthā deva-manussānaṃ*" and "Buddha"[1] are very frequently added to the name of our Buddha, there is no specific account of his early schooling. We can, however, make conjectures on the point from the references sporadically found in the various texts and commentaries. Since he had been striving to attain full Enlightenment for the last several births as detailed in the *Jātaka* stories, it may be said that he had a sound schooling in the various branches of arts and sciences as a resultant of his experiences of the past life stored up as *Saṃskāra.* Of course, those who do not believe in rebirth, may not agree on the point but the legendary discription in Rockhill's book state about his physical strength that the Bodhisattva, while still in nurse's arms, lifted with one

and the *MVas.* The *LV* explains the meaning of Siddhārtha as one whose aim is accomplished and says that the name was given to the child by his father Śuddhodana inasmuch as his own long cherished desire of having a child was fulfilled by the birth of Bodhisattva.

1. Ambaṭṭhasutta, *DN*, Vol. I, p. 76.

finger the golden bowl full with rice and meat which could not be moved either by the town-people or by five hundred elephants; that when the Bodhisattva was yet hardly grown up he took the elephants by tail and threw it over seven fences and ditches causing the digging of '*Hastigarbha*' and that the big tree called '*Kalyāngarbha*' was thrown into the air by the Bodhisattva. About Bodhisattva's spiritual knowledge we may refer to the incident of his infancy when, on the state ploughing day he had sat cross-legged and enjoyed the trance under the cool shade of the rose-apple tree at such an early age of his life.[1] The very late additions to the story, in the *Lalitavistara*, in course of the Bodhisattva's visit to the writing school, add that the writing master Viśvāmitra[2] falls on the ground before the Bodhisattva's glory.

The Jātaka commentary as also the commentary on the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[3] say that when the Bodhisattva was sixteen, he struck the string of the bow which required the strength of a thousand men and displayed all his arts conforming to the custom of the world. This made the Śākyas decide not to offer their daughters to him unless he had proved his skill in archery, writing, arithmetic and the contemporary sciences.

This indicates that he had received training in these sciences and arts. But then there were no schools, colleges or universities as we have today and even the *Mahāvihāras* came into existence much after the Buddha. However, he might have learnt those arts in the company of the traditional teachers or wandering ascetics. The other side of the matter is that his father was very particular about keeping the Bodhisattva in a state of comfort and luxury lest the would-be Buddha might

1. Cf "Abhijānāmi kho panāhaṃ pitu sakkassa kammante sītāya jambucchāyāya nisinno paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasamajja viharitā"—*Mahāsaccaka Sutta, MN*, Vol. I, p. 305 and the *NK* account which has been repeated in the *MNA*. The *MN* says that the Bodhisattva was then old enough to walk about, whereas Tibetan sources and the *Divyavadāna* put the event at his age of of twenty-nine after witnessing the four omens.
2. Rockhill calls the writing master as 'Kauśika'.
3. *AN*, I, p. 134.

feel tired of leading a household life. But as a father, he must have liked to see his son an all-rounder and distinguished from the commoners We find the Buddha to be witty and a versatile genius in dealing with his opponents in discussions. When Devadatta asks him for the goose shot by the former, the Bodhisattva declines to give the same to him on the plea that it belonged not to the shooter but to him who had saved it. This shows how witty and compassionate the Buddha was. He quotes extracts from the various Hindu scriptures and other branches of learning. He uses piercing similies and metaphors drawn from daily life. He had a quick conception, clear understanding, fine interpretation and his own conviction of things which are evident in his discourses found in the canons and commentaries and delivered by him after renunciation of household life. In the *Majjhima Nikāya*[1] the Buddha relates to Saccaka how, while still young in his age, he mastered the doctrines of Ālārakālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta in no time, merely by moving the lips and repeating what had been recited. But unattached and unsatisfied as he was with his achievements, he devoted himself to the severest forms of asceticism, caring least for his body. He did not stop his experiments till he attained Full Enlightenment by proper meditation. This shows how sincere and painstaking he was in his efforts to acquire supreme knowledge and what an easy grasp of a subject he had. Even when the five monks deserted his company he did not lose his heart in making experiments as a seeker of truth and cared little for what others thought of him. This bespeaks his perseverance and unique determination.

Now, let us consider the incidents concerning his marriage which will show that he was allergic to the sensuous pleasures.

It is remarkable that Bodhisattva's son Rāhula is mentioned several times in the *Piṭakas*, but his wife only once and that also, not by her name but as the princess who was the

1. *Mahāsaccaka Sutta, MN*, I. pp. 295-307. The simile of wood for the body required to be dried and purged in order to make it a fit receptacle for illumination and knowledge is remarkable.

mother of Rāhula.[1] The *Jātaka* commentary tells us that the mother of Rāhula[2] was the chief queen. The *Buddhavaṃsa*, a later text, mentioned that Bhaddakaccā by name was his wife.[3] Bhaddakaccā, in fact, was the chief of those thirteen nuns who had obtained supernatural psychic powers as enlisted in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*.[4] But she is not stated as our Bodhisattva's wife. The commentary of this text tells us little that is definite except that Bhaddakaccānā[5] was the daughter of Suprabuddha the Śākya and that she had married the Bodhisattva. The other recensions of this book also give the reading as Subhaddakā. In the commentary on *Jātakas*[6] she is called Bimbā and Bimbasundarī[7]. The *Jinacarita*, a thirteenth century work of Ceylon, names her in one passage 'Yaśodharā' and in another 'Bimbā'[8]. In Pali, as also in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Buddhacarita*[9] she is called 'Yaśodharā'. The *Lalitavistara* poems put her as 'Yaśovatī', but the prose portion of the book as Śākya Daṇḍapāṇi's daughter Gopā who was chosen by the Bodhisattva when five hundred Śākyas had offered their daughters to him for embracing as wife, lived in the midst of eighty-four thousand women. Rockhill says that besides Yaśodharā and Gopā,

1. "Atha kho Rāhulamātā devī Rāhulaṃ kumāraṃ etadavoca."—*Rāhulavattu, MV*, p. 86.
2. Cf verse 46, *BC*, canto II.
3. The Colombo edition of the commentary, while quoting this passage of the *Buddhavaṃśa* ignores Bhaddakaccā. It gives the name as Yaśodharā.
4. "Etadaggaṃ bhikkhave, mana sāvikānaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ mahābhiññāppattānaṃ yadidaṃ Bhaddakaccānā"—*AV*, p. 26, Etadavaggo, 14 (Ka), Ekanipāto.
5. The name Bhaddakaccā itself like Subhaddakā is only a metrical adaptation of Bhaddakaccāna as in the *MVam*.
6. *Adhantara* and *Caṇḍakinnarī Jātakas*.
7. The commentary on *Mahāpadāna Sutta* gives a list of the wives of the last seven Buddhas among whom one Bimbā, after the birth of prince Rāhula, was known was the mother of Rāhula. *JA*.
8. *JC, VV*. 172. 395.
9. *BC*, verses 25-28, canto II.

Mṛgadjā[1] was also married to the Bodhisattva and that the verse of the last lady had inspired him to expedite his renunciation of household life.

Now, the question arises if the householder Bodhisattva had all the above stated women as his wives or if he had married only one or two of them as his father Śuddhodana had done.

That the Bodhisattva should have had a wife is not only natural but according to Indian ideals and traditions imperative. To marry is one of the duties of a person living in the world. So also, that the Bodhisattva should have a son, is quite in justification of his conjugal potency[2]. And lastly, that the Bodhisattva did not delight in sensuous pleasure, is maintained by all the Buddhist traditions and is quite in agreement with his renunciation of worldly life which is an established fact. Śuddhodana was allowed to have more than one wife only as a special case. The confusion regarding so many wives of our Bodhisattva has been created chiefly by a single book. But the book does not mention the circumstances which necessitated the Śākyans to allow polygamy to our Bodhisattva. His father, with a view to making his son interested in worldly life might have liked to allow and manage so many women for the sexual indulgence of his son so that the Bodhisattva might not desert his family. But why should others have the same feeling for the Bodhisattva as to break the Śākyan law of only

1. *MVas* calls Mṛgi as the mother of Ānanda. The *jātaka commentary* calls her Kisā Gotamī whose verse had inspired Bodhisattva to expedite his renunciation of worldly life. The Bodhisattva is said to have thrown his neclace at her in reward for those inspiring words.
2. The *Nidānakathā* mentions the birth of Rāhula after the Bodhisattva had witnessed the four omens, which decided him to undertake a homeless life, and before he had heard the verse of Kṛśā Gotamī which inspired him to expedite renunciation. But Rockhill says that Rāhula was born after Bodhisattva's attainment of Bodhi and hence Śuddhodana had doubt if the baby came from the Bodhisattva. This caused Yaśodharā to throw the child in a pond. But it was picked up by the people who saw it floating and the doubt about its birth was thus dispelled.

one wife and that also without any gain to them? It is thus reasonable to think that our Bodhisattva had only one wife. But then who was that privileged woman?

We have now the following names to consider as the Bodhisattva's wife : Yaśodharā. Bhaddakaccā-Bhaddakaccānā-Bhaddakā-Subhaddakā or Subhaddakaccā, Bimbā, Gopā, Mṛgadjā and Gotamī or Kisāgotamī. The birth of Rāhula as the son of our Buddha is an established fact duly supported by the Aśokan edicts,[1] passages from the canons[2], the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* and other commentaries. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*[3] and other books. So also it is a historical fact that Śuddhodana was the father of our Buddha. Now, among the names mentioned above as the wives of the Buddha, it is none else but Yaśodharā by whom Śauddhodani or the son of Śuddhodana, *i.e.* our Bodhisattva is said to have begotten his only son who was named Rāhula, the enemy of Rāhu, i.e. the moon[4] in consideration of his personal beauty. The father Śuddhodana and the son Rāhula which are established facts are not associated with any other of the above mentioned ladies who can be named as our Bodhisattva's spouse. Hence Yaśodharā was decidedly his wife or at least his chief queen (*Aggamaheśi*) to beget Rāhula whose affection might cause impediment in the way of our Bodhisattva's renunciation shortly to be undertaken for attaining Full Enlightenment in order to illumine the whole universe. To Rāhula the Bodhisattva had become really so much attached that he went to enjoy the last look of the baby even while renouncing the household life.[5] Rāhula was ordained in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* on demand of his heredity.

Among the rest of the women Mṛgadjā and Kisāgotamī or Gotamī are incidentally perhaps the same to have uttered

1. "Lāghulovāde musāvādaṃ......" Bhabru stone inscription (5).
2. "Atha kho bhagavā...Kapilavatthu tadavasari...atha kho Rāhula mātā devi Rāhulaṃ Kumaraṃ etadavoca—Eso te Rāhula pitā."—*MN*, p. 86.
3. *BC*, verses 25 to 27, canto II.
4. *Ibid*, verse 46.
5. *JA*, p. 47.

he verse inspiring expedition of Bodhisattva's renunciation of household life after which, it does not appear convincing that he should accept a lady as his wife. Bhadakaccā the nun or Subhaddakā or the like are perhaps the same with the difference of prefix or suffix added most probably due to metrical exigency ; but none of them is called particularly as the wife of our Bodhisattva. So also neither Bimbā is specifically mentioned as his wife and daughter-in-law of Śuddhodana Śākya, nor Gopā as the mother of Rāhula and wife of Śuddhodana's son. I am, therefore, inclined to identify Yaśodharā as the chief queen of our Bodhisattva, the mother of Rāhula and the daughter-in-law of Śuddhodana. Of course, many other maidens might have had the ambition to have the Bodhisattva as their spouse or they might have been offered as maids of honour to him ; but the luckiest among all was Yaśodharā who could win him to give birth to Rāhula. According to Rockhill's book Nandā and Nandabālā,[1] and according to the *Lalitvistara* nine other maidens besides these two served the Bodhisattva with food during his austerities and they had also the same ambition of having him as husband. So also the *Māra* offers his daughters : Rati, Arati and Tṛṣṇā to tempt him after the enlightenment, and lastly Māgandiya[2] tries to persuade him to accept his daughter as wife, but all in vain. After all why should one, destined to be the Buddha and striving hard since several births for attaining the same,[3] be so sexy as to have so many wives ? Hence it is reasonable to think that the Bodhisattva accepted only Yaśodharā as his wife just conforming to the practice of the worldly life which ultimately he renounced in the prime of life

1. The *NK* mentions them as Sujātā accompanied by her maid-servant Pūrnā who had offered milk-porridge to the Bodhisattva when he had decided to take food rather than fasting for attaining Full Enlightenment, *JA*, p. 51-52.
2. Vide the commentaries on *Māgandiya Sutta* of *SN* as also the text itself.
3. The Bodhisattva is said to have taken as many births as there are *Jātaka* stories which describe his efforts to attain Buddhahood.

when the blooming giggling girl-musicians sleeping round him in disgusting attitudes filled him with loathing.[1]

We would now like to discuss the Bodhisattva's domestic life before and after marriage leading him to renounce the world for the good of many.

Though the Pali text do not give the story of our Buddha's life in a connected form, they do give us details about many important events in it and they offer a picture of the world in which he lived. Most of the stories of his youth and childhood have a mythical air and make their first appearance in works composed long after his death, but there is no reason to discard totally the traditional accounts of the comforts of worldly life which he had. He condemned the pleasures and ambitions of the world as unsatisfying, but he stands before us as one who has resisted and vanquished temptation. *Piṭakas* allude several times to the pride of Śākyas, and in spite of the gentleness and courtesy of the Buddha this family trait is often apparent in his attitude, independent views and disregard of the Brahmanic authority that marks his utterances.

The vivid description of the *Nidānakatha* in the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakaṭhā* and later books regarding 'a large number of Brāhmaṇas being served with sumptuous dinner and costly gifts ; the retinue following Mahāmāyā going to Devadaha while she was in the family way ; the three palaces provided to our Bodhisattva for different seasons echoing with the sweet musical voice of the beautiful dancing damsels ; the four stately horses of Sindhī breed harnessed with his chariot gloriously beautiful with all its trappings on the occasion of his visits to the pleasure-garden ; a huge number of guards posted at close quarters to keep watch over him lest he should escape away for the homeless life ; Kanthaka the mighty steed standing in the stables under a canopy of cloth beautified with a pattern of jasmine flowers and seen by the light of the lamps lighted with scented oil ; Rāhula-mātā sleeping on the bed strewn with heaps of jasmine and other flowers

1. *JA*, p. 47 (*Nāṭakitthiyo*).

with her hand stretched on the baby when the Bodhisattva went to have the last look at his son, are the instances to prove the splendour and luxury by which he was surrounded in youth. But his temperament was that of the weary calm bred of satiety and disenchantment, of one who has possessed everything and found everything to be but vanity. After a life spent in worldly enjoyments he was startled of his ease at the first sight of old age, sickness and death, the import of which, when explained to him by Channa the charioteer,[1] made him very much worried. Of Bodhisattva's life between the events of his birth and his renunciation we have only one incident mentioned in the Canon, that is, Buddha's account of his luxurious life as prince which runs as follows :

"I was extremely delicate. There were pools of lotuses—blue, red and white for me. I used only Banarasī sandlewood and dress. A white parasol was held over me day and night to protect me from cold and heat, dust, weeds and dew. I did not come down from the palace for the rains and rice and meat was given to the slaves and workmen."[2]

The Bodhisattva is said to have asked his father's permission to leave the world unless youth, health, immortality and happiness were guaranteed. The father's declaration of the impossibility of their fulfilment caused Bodhisattva's renunciation.

Now, if we accept, and we have already accepted in the previous chapter that the Buddha was a real historical person who attained Enlightenment after forsaking the worldly life, the question arises, if he attained Buddhahood all at once

1. According to Rockhill the charioteer was named 'Tehaṇḍa' and not Channa as the *NK* says (*JA*, p. 47).
2. "Paramasukhumālo ahaṃ bhikkhave, mama sudaṃ.........uppalaṃ vappati, ekattha padumaṃ......puṇḍarīkaṃ. yāvadeva mamatthāya. Akāsikaṃ candanaṃ vā vatthaṃ vā na dhāremi. Rattiṅdivaṃ me sutaṃ setacchattaṃ dhāriyati mānaṃ phusi sītaṃ vā uṇhaṃ vā tiṇaṃ vā rajo vā ussavo. Mayhaṃ tayo pāsādā ahesuṃ—hemantiko, gimhiko vassik Vassike cattāro māse nippurisehi turiyehi paricārayamāno na heṭṭha pāsādaṃ orohāmi. Dāsakammakarā porisasse sālimaṅsodano diyati"—*AN*, Vol. I, pp. 134-135, Cf last paragraph, *Māgandiya Sutta*, *MN*, Vol. II, p. 201.

quite miraculously or after due effort and practices on that line. To this, the *Jātākathakathā* and specially its *Nidāna Kathā* says and explains that he had been preparing himself for the purpose by developing the different potentialities leading to Buddhahood for the last several births till those potentialities came to the point of perfection. This narrative supporting the Buddhist theory of birth and rebirth according to one's own deeds will form the subject-matter of our next section.

Section IV

Spiritual Preparations as Bodhisattva (Paramitās)

Of the scriptures leaving aside the apocryphal works *Buddhavamṣa* and *Carīyāpiṭaka*, there is only the commentary which deals with the subject. The aforesaid two books give an enumeration of the ten perfections leading to Buddhahood, namely, *Dāna*, i.e. Perfection in Almsgiving and liberality; *Sīla*, i.e. Morality; *Nekkhamma*, i.e. renunciation *Paññā*, i.e. Wisdom; *Viriya*, i.e. Energy; *Khanti*, i.e. Forbearance; *Sacca*, i.e. Truthfulness; *Adhiṭṭhāna*, i.e. Resolution; *Mettā*, i.e. All-embracing Amity; and *Upekkhā*, i.e. Equanimity. In the *Visuddhimagga* IX, it is said that through developing the four *Brahmavihāras*, i.e. the Sublime States of *Mettā*, i.e. Amity; *Karuṇā*, i.e. Compassion; *Muditā*, i.e. Altruistic joy; and *Upekkhā*, i.e. Unconcern, on may reach these ten perfections, namely :

"As the *Mahāsattas* (i.e. Bodhisattvas) are concerned about the welfare of living beings, not tolerating the suffering of beings, wishing long duration to the higher states of happiness of beings, and being impartial and just to all beings, therefore, (1) they are giving *Dāna*, i.e. Alms to all beings so that they may be happy, without examining whether they are worthy or not—(2) By avoiding to do them any harm, they are observing *Sīla*, i.e. Morality—(3) In order to bring morality to perfection, they are training themselves in *Nekkhamana*, i.e. Renuciation—(4) In order to understand clearly what is beneficial and injurious to beings, they are purifying their *Paññā*, i.e. Wisdom—(5) For the sake of others' welfare and happiness, they are

constantly exerting their *Viriya*, i.e. Energy—(6) Though through utmost energy having become heroes, they are nevertheless full of *Khanti*, i.e. Forbearance towards the manifold failures of beings—(7) Once they have promised to give or do something, they do not break their '*Sacca*', i.e. word or truthfulness—(8) With unshakable '*Adhiṭṭhāna*', i.e. Resolution they are working for the weal and welfare of beings—(9) With unwavering '*Mettā*', i.e. amity they are obliging to all—(10) By reason of their *Upekkhā*, i.e. Equanimity and unconcern they do not expect anything in return."[1]

The *Nidāna-Kathā* as also the *Buddhavaṁsa* say that our Bodhisattva, while he was Sumedha Brāhmaṇa in his previous birth, had sacrificed a very good fortune and took up the life of an ascetic in quest of Eternal Bliss. In the meantime he learnt that Dīpaṅkara Buddha would be passing through that way. Hence he stretched his body on the level of the mud so that Dīpaṅkara Buddha along with his disciples would not be stained with mud while passing over there. While so lying he meditated upon the eight requisites[2] for being a Buddha and resolved to attain Buddhahood for the sake of immunizing many and not only his ownself from the miseries of taking birth and rebirth. Dīpaṅkara Buddha came to him and made a prophecy that Sumedha would be born as Gautama Buddha, the son of Śuddhodana at Kapilavastu from the womb of Māyā; that he (Gautama) would go forth to perform severe

1. Cf *VM*, Kosāmbi Deva Nāgarī Pali Ed., p. 221.
2. For being a Buddha one must be (a) human being—(b) a male, (c) he must have virtues of attaining *Arahatship* in that very life achieved as a result of past actions—(d) earnest desire to attain Buddhahood for which he should beseech a living Buddha, (e) must lead a monk's life—(f) be endowed with five Higher Spiritual Powers (*Abhiññā*) of Divine Eye, Ear, Penetration of others' mind, Memory of former existences, Magical powers and Extinction of all Biases (*Āsavas*) and eight Attainments (*Samāpatti*) of : Four Fine material and four Immaterial spheres of trances—(g) be ready to sacrifice his life for the Buddhas—(h) have earnest desire and effort to search out the subsidiary qualities of attaining enlightenment in the midst of any difficulty whatsoever it may be.

austerities and after taking the milkporridge under the *Nyagrodha* tree on the bank of the river Nairañjanā and that he Gautama would be in the *Bodhimaṇḍa* under the *Aśvatha* tree where he would attain Full Enlightenment. Thus inspired by Dīpāṅkara Buddha, to whom our Sumedha had dedicated his life, he meditated upon the aforesaid ten perfections leading to Buddhahood and made up his mind to fulfil them to their limits at all costs.

The *Dūrenidāna* of the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* then presents a list of the twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara up to Kāśyapa Buddha, all of whom made the common forecast about our Bodhisattva when they saw him in different species of being during their own lifetime, that he must attain Buddhahood. Thereafter, no Buddha other than our own happened to come to this world.

Our Bodhisattva, then firmly determined to fulfil the ten perfections leading to the Buddhahood, was born in different species of beings, in all of which he had been trying to establish a record in each of the ten perfections one by one.

He fulfilled the limit of alms-giving by sacrificing even his own body to Śakra, the king of gods appearing in the form of a beggar, as detailed in the *Sasa Paṇḍita Jātaka*.[1] Secondly, that he did not let his morality be disturbed even in the least, is proved by the incident that he did not lose his temper even towards the persons who had pierced him with stakes and covered him with wounds when he was born as Saṅkhapāla.[2] Thirdly, he proved to have reached the limit of perfection in renunciation by abandoning his vast kingdom without the least attachment, as detailed in the *Cūlasutasoma Jātaka*. Fourthly,

1 Cf "Jīvitaṃ yācake datvā, imaṃ pārami pūrayiṃ."
"Tatheva jālitaṃ aggiṃ, pavitthassa maṃ tadā
Sabbaṃ sameti darathaṃ, yathā sitodakaṃ viya
Chaviṃ cammaṃ maṃsaṃ nhāruṃ, aṭṭhiṃ hadayabandhanaṃ
Kevalaṃ sakalaṃ kāyaṃ brāhmaṇassa adasahaṃti", *CP*, *KhN*, Vol. VII, p. 399.
2. Cf "Sūlehi vinivijjhante, koṭṭayante pi sattibhi.
Bhojaputte na kuppāmi, esā me sīlapāramīti," *Ibid*, p. 408.

he established a record in wisdom in course of the search for which, the Brahmana was emancipated from misery by the Bodhisattva while he was Senakapaṇḍita as detailed in the *Sāttubhasta Jātaka*. Fifthly, he proved his unparalleled Energy by worrying not even the least in adverse situations. When all others who could not have the vision of the coast in the water, had died, he crossed the ocean, as detailed in the *Mahā Janaka Jātaka*. Sixthly, the limit of perfection in Forbearance was obvious in the incident as detailed in the *Khantivāda Jātaka*, when he, like an inanimate object, had tolerated the piercing of the spade of Kāśīrāja without any murmur against him. Seventhly, that his effort reached the highest limit of perfection of truthfulness,[1] is evident from the sacrifice of his life at its altar, through which one hundred Kṣatriyas were emancipated, as detailed in the *Mahāsuta soma Jātaka*. Eighthly, the limit of perfection of Resolution[2] reached by him, is revealed in the *Mūga-Pakkha Jātaka* in which the undertaking of the vow was fulfilled by him even at the cost of his life, regardless of the consequences. Ninthly, the perfection of goodwill and all-embracing Kindness[3], is seen to have been attained by him to the highest degree when we look at his endeavour to do so without the least fear of his life or whatsoever, as detailed in the *Ekarāja Jātaka*. And lastly the limit of perfection of Equanimity[4] is seen to have been fulfilled by him when we turn our eyes to the details of his practices given in the *Lomahaṅsa Jātaka* in which he has been said to be using the corpse and bones his pillow and treating alike the spitoon thrown upon him and the garlands, perfumes and other things presented to him.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa* of the canon also throw light upon the fulfilment of the limit of these perfections of the ten kinds leading to Buddhahood for the welfare of

1. "Khattiyānaṃ ekasataṃ avunitvā karattale.........cajitumupāgamiṃ," *Ibid*, p. 418.
2. "Adhiṭṭhitamadhiṭṭhanaṃ, tajjento vividhakāraṇā......adhiṭṭhānapāramīti," *Ibid*, p. 414.
3. "Aṃ accamaṇḍalaṃ rajjaṃ......esā me mettā pāramīti", *Ibid*, p. 419.
4. "Susāne seyyaṃ kappemi......esā upekkhā pāramīti", *Ibid*.

many. Thus fulfilling the perfection in previous lives, our Bodhisattva, after leaving his body as Vessantara, was born in *Tuṣita* heaven of gods from where he entered the womb of Mahāmāyā, the wife of Śuddhodana.

The fulfilment of the moral virtues sets before us the high ideal of ethical code which is the *conditio sine qua non* of spiritual perfection. In charity one must not be squeamish and must give all that one has with stint, scruple or hesitancy. It is a very difficult task for even an extraordinary man. But the Buddha is the most enlightened and most perfect person. For reaching the highest level one has to pay the requisite price. The concept of *pāramitā* is the special characteristic of Buddhism. The Mahayana has made enormous capital of these perfections. It is difficult to find even an approximate parallel of this ideal in other faiths. To be the benefactor of one's followers is at best partisanship though of a high order. But one must rise above this limitation which is only a glorified picture of party politics of today. The Buddha's charity, friendship and compassion were not confined to his faithful adherents, and is thus free from the savour of party leadership. He must be the friend even of the worst enemies. The forbearance of Jesus Christ comes close to the ideal forbearance of the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva resolved not to attain *Nirvāṇa* until all the creatures from the highest god to the amoeba are emancipated and to suffer for their sins vicariously. It is an ideal which is not preached in other faiths with such candour and forthrightness.

We shall not be far amiss if we hazard the assertion that Buddhism captured the imagination of all noble minds by this picture of total sacrifice of self-interest and ungrudging friendship and unlimited compassion for all suffering creatures irrespective of their attitude towards him To expect gratitude for one's good offices smacks of, after all the bargaining spirit of the trader. In order to understand the majesty, grandeur and magnanimity of Buddhism and of the Buddha one has to ponder over these moral values which are said to be practised by the Bodhisattva. The Buddha did not bargain for any return for his sacrifice and service not only to humanity but also to

all grades of living creatures. It is implied that a true Buddhist has to undergo the grinding of the discipline of these moral virtues. He must be prepared to suffer for his own uplift and the benefit of others. The Mahāyāna looks down upon the ideal of self-perfection combined with total unconcern for the conditions of other beings as exalted self-interest. Even the self has to be immolated for the salvation of others. No wonder, that Buddhism and particularly Mahāyāna Buddhism cast its spell upon millions.

3

Renunciation, Austerities and Enlightenment

A frequent phrase in Buddha's discourses speaks of the "highest goal of the holy life for the sake of which clansmen leave their homes and go forth into homelessness."[1] The religious mendicant seemed the proper incarnation of this ideal to which Kṣatriyas as well as Brāmaṇas aspired, and our future Buddha's thoughts also naturally turned towards the wandering life. In the *Mahāparinibbāṇa* Sutta of the canon the Buddha himself says that he left his home at the age of twentynine and became an ascetic to seek after what was right.[2] We have already mentioned the *Nidāna-Kathā* version as to how Gautama, after a life spent in worldly enjoyments, witnessed the four omens[3] shown to him by the gods visualising the time of his Enlightenment fast approaching and as to how he was inspired to take up the life of a mendicant. We have also referred to the

1. "Yassatthāya kulaputtā sammadeva agārasmā angāriyaṃ pabbajanti tadanuttaraṃ brahmacariya pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhova dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissathāti," *MV*, p. 12.
2. "Ekūnatiṃso vayasā...yaṃ pabbajiṃ kiṃkusalānuesī. Vassāni paññāsa samādhikāni, yato ahaṃ pabbajito Subhadda. Nāyassa dhammassa padesavatti, ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi natthi", *DN*, Vol. II, p. 117.
3. According to the *NK* the four omens of *Jiṇṇam*, *Vyādhitaṃ*, *Kālakatam* and *Paajibbtam* were witnessed on different days, but according to the *Dīgha-Bhāṇakas* they were seen on the same day.

Aṅguttara-Nikāya text where the Buddha himself describes his luxurious life in the three palaces and says that he reflected how people feel repulsion and disgust at the sight of old age, etcetra when they themselves are subject to those sad plights and never free from them. He further narrated that he enquired of himself if he was justified to feel horror, repulsion and disgust when he saw another in that plight; and so thinking, all the joys of life, which he ever had in his mind, died within himself. This might have been the origin of the above stated story regarding the four omens which caused the Buddha to give up the worldly life. Oldenberg, in his book, *Buddha*, says that later tradition concocted this narrative preparatory to the flight of Gotama from his home on the basis of the legend narrated of one of the legendary Buddhas of bygone ages—the familiar history of the four drives of the youth to the garden outside the town, during which the pictures of impermanence of every earthly thing presented themselves to him one after another, in the form of the four omens, the last one of which was a religious mendicant—a picture of peace and deliverance from all pain of impermanence. This was transferred to the youth of Gotama.

In the *Majjhima-Nikāya*[1], the Buddha again says that before the days of his enlightenment when he was still a Bodhisattva, though himself subject to various kinds of miseries, he thought after beings subject to these. Then he thought why should he act thus. Let him, who is subject to these, (i) seek rather that which is not subject thereto, even the supreme bliss and security of Nirvāṇa.[2]

No connected account of his renunciation of the world has been found in the Piṭakas, but Sonadaṇḍa in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*[3]

1. "Ahampi sudaṃ bhikkhave, pubbe sambodhā bodhisattva samāno attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhammam yeva pariyessāmi, jarā—byādhi—maraṇa —soka-saṃkilesa pariyessāmi. Tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etadahosi........nibbānaṃ pariyeseyyaṃ", *MN*, Vol I, p. 212 ff.
2. *Ariyapariyesanā*, *Ibid*.
3. "Gotamo daharo va samāno yuvā susukālakeso bhadrena yobbanena samannāgato paṭhamena vayasā agārasmā anagariyaṃ pabbajito...... akāmakānaṃ mātā pitunaṃ assumukhānaṃ", rundantānaṃ, *DN*, Vol. I, p. 100.

says that in spite of his parents' grief the Buddha had gone out from the household life into the homeless state while still a young man.[1] So also the *Suttanipāta*, which reads like a very ancient ballad, relates in course of his meeting with Bimbasāra at the latter's capital Rājagṛha, that the Buddha, thinking the householder's life to be congested and full of the dust of attachment and ill-will and the homeless life of a monk, on the other hand, to be like a clear open sky, preferred the latter one.[2] Again, the same Sutta says that he was quite young then and had sufficient wealth and comfort.[3]

On the ground of these utterances it is clear that renunciation took place and nothing more is found as the basis for a wholly fictitious legend. As regards the narrative of the sight of four omens, we may say that it is quite in tune with the forecast made by the eight Brahmins on the fifth day of the Bodhisattva's birth, i.e., on his naming day.[4]

And it was quite natural then for the Bodhisattva that he must appear to be startled at those sights inasmuch as his father must have taken sufficient care to see that his son, the Bodhisattva, would not have the occasion to see them and be inspired to abandon the worldly life as predicted. Then it was the natural outcome of his mind to be very much worried about such worldly life where, in the midst of the so-called pleasures, those sad plights of worldly life of attachment to them were unavoidable.

E.J. Thomas, on the basis of the word "*Daharo*" with reference to the word "*Kesamassuṃ ohāretvā*" finds[5] contradiction in the statement that the Buddha, while quite a boy, had a beard to shave in order to take up the life of a recluse; and further he

1. Cf "So ahaṃ, bhikkhave, aparena samayena daharo va samāno...... mātā pitunaṃ......rundantānaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretva......pabbajiṃ" *MN*, Vol. I, p. 213.
2. "Sambādhoyaṃ gharāvāso, rajassāyatanaṃ iti Abbhokāso va pabbajā, iti disvāna pabbaji", *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 329.
3. "Yuvā ca daharo cāsi, pathamuppattiko susu", "Dhanaviriyena sampanno", *Ibid*, p. 330.
4. *JA*, p. 44.
5. *MN*, I, p. 295.

remarks that it was the customary phraseology to describe any ascetic, as also it was in the case of the boy Nālaka, the nephew of Asita. He then adds that the miracles and contradiction in the legend serve the purpose of nucleus that are as foreign to the oldest sources as all the rest and hence to strip the legend of its miracles and contradictions is to leave the nucleus. In so saying he refers to Oldenberg's statement on the point where the latter considers that account to be highly coloured poetry, for, the canonical accounts only claim what are unadorned fragments that an older generation knew or thought that it had known of those things. Now, since the word '*Daharo*' also means 'young in age', it does not necessarily indicate that there should then be complete absence of beard. It is probable that the word might have been used to indicate the tenderness and inexperience of the cloistered prince who was quite comfortable in the three palaces provided for the different seasons before he left his house in the prime of his youth and had the occasion to enjoy no other company than that of the beautiful dancing damsels attending upon him.

We are, however, inclined to believe that Oldenberg was much too sceptical and Professor Thomas only echoed his opinion to strengthen his own contention. Gotama had renounced the world at the age of twentynine. So the absurdity of beard-shaving has not any legs to stand upon. As regards Oldenberg's contention that this story was only inserted to bring it in line with the lives of previous Buddhas rather seems to put the cart before the horse. The lives of previous Buddhas are pure legends and if there is any interpolation, it is quite justifiable to surmise that this was done in imitation of the actual events of the Buddha's life. There may have been previous Buddhas and Aśoka's pillars may afford evidence of their being historical personages. But, though the close similarity of the events characterizing the previous Buddhas' career is rather apt to rouse the suspicion that the story was concocted to show that the tradition of the Buddhas was unbroken, one may plausibly suppose that the story of the previous Buddhas is introduced only as an afterthought. As regards miracles we need not be surprised by them as they are generally associated with almost

all religious teachers including Jesus. After all, reason is not the only faculty for inducing men to believe in the truth of religion. Miracles may be true or concocten for adding to the majesty of a religious teacher. They need not necessarily abstract from the historical truth of the person.

Anyhow, our Bodhisattva, after witnessing the four omens and realising the seamy side of worldly life when he saw the dancing girls sleeping in disgusting attitudes, was determined to abandon this so-called enjoyment of life and he was inspired to expedite renunciation by Kisāgotamī (or Mṛgadjā) who was praising the parents and wife to whom the Bodhisattva belonged. He ordered Channa to saddle the horse, and himself went to have the last look of his son. By this time, the horse was ready. The Bodhisattva was heavily guarded lest he might escape from the palace. But steadfast as he was in his resolution he left the city on the back of the horse, Kanthaka and with the charioteer Channa clinging to its tail. Divinities muffled the sound of the horse while it was moving and the well-guarded city-gate was opened by the God dwelling there at. Suddenly, Māra the tempter appeared and forbade him to proceed on renunciation inasmuch as the weapon of *Cakravartin*, i.e., supreme monarch was to be awarded to him only on the seventh day, but he could not impress upon the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva then started in the midnight on the full moon day of *Uttrāṣāḍha*. Since then the Māra followed him like the shadow watching till perchance a moment might come, when a thought of lust or unrighteousness entering the struggling soul, would allow him to overpower the Bodhisattva. Our Bodhisattva had again a mind to enjoy the *Uttarāṣāḍha* festival of the city. The great earth trembled like the potter's wheel suggesting that the Bodhisattva knew no return in life. However, he proceeded on his way enjoying the last view of the city.[1]

1. The *LV*, chapter XIV says that the Bodhisattva caused his father to dream that his son was abandoning him and thereafter he saw the four omens. Then he meditated in the harem and asked Chandaka to bring the horse for the Great Renunciation. Chandaka tried to impress

Rockhill says that the Bodhisattva travelled twelve *yojanas,* i.e., near about ninety miles that very night. He attired there and then with the fear of being disturbed by the Śākyas who were at closer distance, crossed the Ganges and reached Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha.[1] The interval between the end of his worldly life and beginning of his preaching career as a Buddha is traditionally estimated as six years and this accords with our other data. The Bodhisattva starts his career as a wanderer and lives on the alms begged from door to door. When he was on a begging round, people were so much alarmed to see this tender and princely person that they could not make out if he was a man, a serpent, a *Garuḍa*, a demon or a god and hence reported the matter to king Bimbisāra. Bodhisattva, while taking meals under the shadow of the Pāndava mountain, felt a vomiting

upon him to enjoy life in the midst of the comforts and grandeurs made available to him, but all in vain and thus the Going Forth of the future Buddha took place.

1. The *NK* describes that the Bodhisattva went beyond three kingdoms, a distance of thirty *Yojanas*, i.e., more than two hundred miles and reached the river Anomā (Aumi in District Gorakhpur or Kudawa in Basti) which his horse crossed at a stretch. But, according to the *LV* version in the aforesaid chapter, he leaves the city and goes beyond the Śākyas, the Kodyas (Koliyas) and the Mallas and reaches the town of Anuvaineya at a distance of six *Yojanas*. This appears to be more appropriate than the accounts of his journey of twelve or thirteen *Yojanas* as mentioned in the Tibetan sources and the *NK* respectively, which are inconceivable to be covered within a day unless miraculously done.

   The *LV* and the *NK* then state that the Bodhisattva gave his ornaments to Chandaka and cut off his hair-lock. Then Ghatikāra Brahmā, one of his friends in his previous life during the period of Kāśyapa Buddha, offered him the eight requisites of a monk, viz., three robes, bowl, razor, needle, girdle and water-container, which the Bodhisattva accepted. A shrine was built there and it was called *Kāṣāya Grahaṇa.* Chandaka was asked to go back and console the Bodhisattva's father. Kanthaka, not bearing the separation from the master, died then and there. The Bodhisattva spent one week in the mango-grove of Anupiya (the country of the Mallas) and walked over to Rājagṛha in one day.

tendency at the poor food received in alms. He pondered over the mission of his life as a recluse. This made him determined to take gladly whatever was offered in alms. King Bimbisāra offered a moiety of his royal fortune to him but in vain, as the Bodhisattva had already forsaken them and was out in quest of Enlightenment to enjoy supreme bliss. The king, however, requests him to pay first visit to his kingdom after attaining Buddhahood and the Bodhisattva agrees to it.[1]

The teachers of the Ganges valley had probably a greater reputation for learning and sanctity than the rough wits of the Śākyas and this might have attracted Gautama. He applied himself diligently to acquiring knowledge from contemporary teachers of religion.

Rockhill says that after his interview with Bimbisāra, the Bodhisattva lived with the ascetics who dwelt at the *Gṛdhrakūṭa* mountain near Rājagṛha and surpassed them all in mortifications and was hence known as *Mahāśramaṇa* or the great ascetic. But their object being the achievement of the position of Śakra or Brahmā or even Māra, he left them thinking to be not on the right path. He went to Ālārakālāma[2] who held the view that all depended on controlling the senses and thus the Bodhisattva, not finding him up to the mark for purpose of Full Enlightenment and Deliverance, left him also. Thereupon the Bodhisattva came to Rājagṛha (district Nālandā) where he met Rudraka Rāmaputra who taught that there was neither consciousness nor unconsciousness[3]. This

1. *Pabbajā Sutta, SN.*
2. The *LV* says that the Bodhisattva, after receiving ascetic robes, was entertained by the Brahmaṇa women Śākī and Padmā and the sages Raivata and Rājaka, and thereafter he reached Vaiśālī to join Ālāra. The *MV* mentions that the Bodhisattva met king Bimbisāra after meeting with Ālāra who lived at Vaiśālī (Basarh in district Hājīpura).
3. In the *MN*, Pāsarāsī Sutta, the Buddha himself narrates how, within no time he mastered and realised Ālārakālāma's teaching of *Ākiñcaññāyatana* leading to rebirth in the 'Sphere of Nothingness of the Immaterial Trance' and so also Rudraka Ramaputra's teaching of '*Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*' leading to rebirth in the 'Sphere of Neither-perception nor Non-perception' through the total overcoming of the sphere of nothingness. They are the '*Samāpatti*', i.e. attainments of

also proved insufficient for our Bodhisattva's mission. Then he moved to the southern side of Mount Gayā, to the village of the school of Uruvilva Kāśyapa and took up his abode at the foot of a tree near the bank of the lovely Nairañjanā river. There he continued his mortifications gradually making them more severe. He was then accompanied by the five monks[1] called '*Pañcavargiya*'.

The various penances that Gotama inflicted on himself, various thoughts that occurred to him, subjects that he discussed with himself, are described at length in the canon as also in the commentaries and Sanskrit works. A continuous account of the period occurs more than once in the scriptures.[2] Some of the events in both canonical and non-canonical literature are developed in different ways or inserted in different chronological order, probably, because the canonical accounts tell all that was known as lenged at the time when the narratives, now included in the Suttas, were compiled.

The different Buddhist canons and commentaries describe the Bodhisattva's ascetic practices almost on the same line as given below :

The Bodhisattva, on the strength of confidence in his ethical faculties, called *Bala* or powers,[3] attained the mental spheres of *Ākiñcaññāyatana* and *Nevasaññā nāsaññāyatana*

trances in the Immaterial (*Arūpa*) sphere. They consist of '*Upekkhā*', i.e., equanimity and *Ekaggatā*, i.e., concentration which are the *Jhāna* constituents of the fourth trance. Two mystic utterances of Rudraka Rāmaputra have been preserved in the *DN*, Vol. III, p. 98.

1. Rockhill says that while the Bodhisattva was staying with Rudraka Rāmaputra, Śuddhodana sent three hundred and Suprabuddha two hundred and fifty attendants out of whom only five were retained by Bodhisattva and they were called *Pañcavargiyas* or *Bhadravargiyas* according to the *LV*.
2. *Bhayabherava*, *Dvedhāvitakka*, *Pāsarāsi* and *Mahāsaccaka* Suttas of *MN*.
3. The *Bala* or ethical powers have been enumerated as the following : *Saddhā*, *i.e.* faith; *Viriya*, *i.e.* energy ; *Sati*, *i.e.* mindfulness · *Samādhi*, *i.e.* concentration and *Paññā*, *i.e.* wisdom.

which he did not think to be the proper end of religious life leading to perfect knowledge and emancipation and hence set out to find out the higher ones. He settled at Uruvelā. (Urala near Bodh-Gayā, district Gayā). The pleasant spot with a beautiful grove, clear water flowing in the river nearby,[1] the meadows and villages all around, attracted the Bodhisattva's mind to stay there for the struggle ahead. He began austerities there by adopting the well-known practices of purging the body of its honours to make it a fit receptacle for illumination and knowledge. So he sat and set his teeth, pressed the tongue against the palate, and restrained, crushed, and burnt out his mind with his mind. Sweat flowed from his armpits. Then he applied himself to meditation accompanied by complete cessation of breathing. As he did so, he felt, there was a violent sound of winds disturbing his ears and head just as it were from the blowing of a blacksmith's bellows. As he persevered and went from stage to stage of this painful exercise, he heard the blood rushing in his head and felt as if his skull was being split, his belly were being cut open with a butcher's knife, and finally as if he were thrown into a pit of burning coal. He gradually reduced his food to a grain of rice every day. He lived on seeds and grass, and for one period literally on dung.[2] He wore haircloth or other irritating clothes, plucked his hair and beard, stood continuously, lay upon thorns, let the dirt and dust accumulate till the body looked like an old tree, frequented the burning

1. The river was then called Nairañjanā or Lilañjā, now Falgu, *MN*, *I.*, p. 298.

   The holy life, as it is led most easily in beautiful and peaceful landscapes, our Bodhisattva, who was the high-born one intent on striving, was naturally charmed to witness that delightful spot at Uruvelā. This also shows Buddha's love for nature. Buddhism, though in theory setting no value on pleasures of eye, is not in practice disdainful of beauty as we witness many allusions to the Buddha's personal appearance, the persistent love of art and the equally persistent love of nature which is found in the *Therīgāthā*. So also this shows that the Buddha felt the importance of scenery and climate in spiritual struggle.
2. *MN*, Vol. I, pp. 110-113 and *DN*, Vol. I, pp. 142-144.

places where corpses were burnt or buried and thrown to decay or be eaten by birds and beasts, and lay among the rotting bodies. He was then at the point of death, but not of enlightenment. He made up his mind to abstain from food altogether and refused its infusion offered by spirits. Then he reflected that he might take a little food to gain strength for concentration. He took a plamful or two of bean soup. He became worn almost to a shadow and touching his body he felt his backbone through it and *vice versa*. So near had his back and belly come together through fasting. When he rubbed his limbs to refresh them, his hairs fell off, but still no vision of enlightenment even after reaching the climax of self-mortification.[1]

Now let us look to the condition of ascetic life and practices in India which inspired our Bodhisattva to undergo such severe austerities.

The wandering teachers then enjoyed a very high reputation among all classes of people. They were welcomed at the *Santhāgāras* to talk of high matters. Less numerous than them but still important were the hermits. Dwelling in the forests and caves these hermits gave themselves up to renunciation and self-mortification, and lived on roots and fruits. But there was no question of penance for sin or praying the deity concerned to expunge the same. It was, at times the boast of superiority advanced by the man able, by strength of will, not only to despise comfort, but to welcome pain. There were ascetics who lived in self-mortification, denied themselves nourishment for long periods, did not wash themselves, did not sit down and rested on beds of thorns. There were adherents of the faith in the purifying efficacy of water, who were intent on purging by continued ablutions all guilts which clung to them. Others aimed at conditions of spiritual abstraction and sought, while separating themselves from all perception of external realities, to imbibe themselves with the feeling of the "eternity of space" or of the "eternity of reasons", or of

1. *MN*, Vol. II, p. 330 ff ; Cf *LV*, verse 309 (246) and *MVas*, II, 121

"non-anything-whatever-ness" and whatever else these conditions were called. Then there were the whimsical among whom we are told of a "hen-saint", whose vow consisted in picking up his food from the ground like a hen and as far as possible, in all matters acting like a hen and still another lived as a "cow-saint", and thus the *Brahmajāla* and the *Sandiṭṭhika Sāmañña Phala* Suttas give, by no means, a short list of different kinds of holy men in those days, few among whom are said to have always been preserving their holiness from the fate of ridicule and other dangers.

The Bodhisattva had the privillege to enjoy earthly pleasures living in the three palaces of his own, well-furnished and equipped with the female attendants and beautiful dancing damsels amusing him. But he found them unsatisfying inasmuch as they were resulting in the inevitable fate of miseries of old age, separation from the dear ones, frustration and death. So he went out in search of the truth leading to the cessation of all miseries. He was then convinced of the principle that the body must be subdued by physical training before the mind can apprehend the bigger truths. As such, he practised severe forms of self-mortification which he thought to be a process of productive labour akin to intellectual toil. As a result of this, his body turned into a bare skeleton and one day he fell down on the earth in a swoon. Thereafter, regaining consciousness, he remembered his early-age experience of the trance on the occasion of the ploughing festival and decided to follow the same line of practices. But in order to have concentration he was required to give up intentional self-torture and beget strength by taking food. As soon as this idea came to his mind, the *Jātakāṭṭhakathā* says, a lady named Sujātā of Senāni[1] village appeared before him. Her ambition, that she should be blessed with a son as her first issue, was fulfilled and hence she had been there to offer milk-rice to the tree-god. The Great Being was then medita-

1. It was called the township of the general (*Senā*) in the neighbourhood of Bodhgaya near the river, now called Falgu.

ting under the Assatha tree. Sujātā[1], accompanied by her maid-servant Pūrṇā, took him to be the tree-deity incarnate and offered the golden vessel full or porridge to him. It was the full moon day or Vaiśākha. The Bodhisattva had been totally abstaining from food or wash for the last seven weeks. The night before, he had five great dreams[2] and had risen with certainty that he would that day become Buddha. He washed the body in the river and took Sujātā's offer of porridge which is known as the only meal for his next seven weeks. The five monks who had been attending him during the course of his severe penances, forsook the Bodhisattva observing that he had given up the spiritual struggle and had resumed taking normal food. He threw the golden vessel into the river with a view to testing the certainty of his enlightenment if that vessel ascended the stream against the current. It did so and sank in the abode of the *Nāgas*. Towards the evening he walked to the Bodhi tree. He happened to meet Svastika, the grass-cutter who offered him eight handfuls of grass which the Bodhisattva used as his seat, fourteen cubits in length. There he sat facing the east and taking the vow that he must

1. Nine other pirls are named who provide him with food during austerities—*LV*, verses 334-37 (267-270). In the *Dvyav*, 392, they are two called Nandā and Nanda Bālā ; elsewhare Sujātā is said to feed the Bodhisattva with a view to marrying him which when outright rejected, she wished him to be a Buddha.
2. The five great dreams as enumerated in the scriptures are : (i) The world appeared as a great couch with the Himalayas as the pillow, his left hand plunged in the eastern ocean, right in the western and feet in the southern indicating complete enlightenment, (ii) a plant came from his right hand and rose and touched the sky to indicate the noble eightfold path, (iii) white worms with black heads crept up to his knees and covered to indicate white robed householders taking *Tathāgata's* refuge, (iv) four birds of different colours came from different directions and falling at his feet, became entirely white to indicate four castes leading householder's life in tune with *Tathāgata*'s doctrine to realise the highest release, and (v) he was walking on a mountain of dung without being defiled by it, indicating the *Tathāgata* receiving the requisites but enjoying them without being attached. *AN*, Vol. II, pp. 480-82.

not leave the seat, whatever plight his body has to face, before attaining Full Enlightenment.

Here, says the *Jātaka* commentary, the *Māra* again creates all sorts of disturbances in Bodhisattva's contemplation. He threatens the Great Being by creating storms tearing down high peaks and rooting out shrubs and trees, but unable even to shake the hem of the Bodhisattva's robes. Thereafter, showers of water, rocks, deadly weapons, fire, ashes. sand and mud are poured upon him, but all in vain. The *Māra* then causes darkness fourfold and commands his army of demons, well-arrayed with deadly weapons, to slay the Bodhisattva and himself uses the *Cakra* weapon for the purpose. Finding this also to be futile he tells the Bodhisattva that Devadatta had subdued Kapilavastu and had crushed the Śākyas. Then he caused apparitions. of Yaśodharā, of Mṛgadjā and Gopā, but to no effect.[1] Ultimately, he sends of bands of seductive nymphs[2] to the Great Being. The Bodhisattva was still undisturbed and the Goddess Earth herself rose to bear the testimony of fulfilment of his perfections ensuring the attainment of his Buddhahood. The army of *Māra*, thus convinced of his attainment, went away gloomy and sorrowful each one straight on before him. The full moon came out. The Bodhisattva immersed himself in meditation rising gradually from the first to the fourth Dhyana[3]. There

1. Rockhill's book.
2. The *LV* says that the *Māra* sends his daughters—Rati (pleasure), Arati (displeasure) and Tṛṣṇā (desire to seduce the Bodhisattva) (p. 353), and Spence Hardy names them Taṇhā, Rati and Raṅga.
3. *Dhyāna*, Pali '*Jhāna*' meaning 'Trance' or mental absorption, in its widest sense is even momentary absorption of mind directed to one single mental or physical object. In its special sense it denotes the four trances of the fine material sphere (*Rūpajjhāna* or *Rūpāvacarajjhāna*), which are conditioned through the full, or Attainment, or Ecstatic concentration (*Appanā Samādhi*) and through the complete absence of the five-fold sense activity and five mental Hindrances (*Nīvaraṇa*), viz, *Kāmacchanda* or sensuous lust, *Vyāpāda* or ill-will, *Thīnamiddha* or sloth and torpor, *Uddhaccakukkuca* or restlessness and worry and *Vicikicchā* or sceptical doubt ; often also the four trances of the immaterial sphere

arose before him a vision of previous births (*Pubbe Nibāsaññā na*). In the second watch of the night he obtained the divine

(*Arūpajjhāna* or *Arūpāvacarajjhāna*). Both the spheres taken together are called *Mahaggata Citta*. The mind of the average man is restless under the blinding influence of diverse desires. He feels it very difficult to check it from running away here and there at random. However attentive he might be, he fails to keep the 'object' of his concentration on the upper surface of awareness, which is sinking down quite incessantly. It is only after a considerable amount of practice that the *Yogāvacara* is able to exercise mastery over his mind, and to concentrate fully. He obtains the different stages of *Jhāna* in which the awareness of the object becomes quite steady, and which he can maintain as long as he desires. The above two *Mahaggata Cittas* or the higher grades of consciousness are described in the Suttas as the following :

"Detached from sensual objects, O monks, detached from unwholesome states of mind, the monk enters into the first trance, which is accompanied by *Vitakka* or Thought-Conception and *Vicāra* (Discursive Thinking), is born of Detachment and filled with *Pīti* (Rapture) and *Sukha* (Joy). After the subsiding of thought-conception and discursive thinking, and by gaining inner tranquillity and oneness of mind, he enters into the second trance, which is born of concentration (*Samādhi*) and filled with Rapture (*Pīti*) and Joy (*Sukha*). After the fading away of rapture he dwells in equanimity, attentive, clearly conscious and enters in the third trance. After having given up pleasure and pain, and through the disappearance of previous joy and grief, he enters into the fourth trance, which is purified by Equanimity (*Upekknā*) and attentiveness.

Through the total overcoming of the corporality-perceptions (*Rūpasaññā*), however, and through the vanishing of the reflex-perceptions (arising due to sense organs and sense objects) and the non-attention to the multiformity-perceptions (outside the trances) at the idea, 'unbounded is space', he reaches the sphere of unbounded space (*Ākāsānañcāyatana*) and abides therein. While in trance the reflex-perceptions no longer exist. Through the total overcoming of the sphere of unbounded space, and at the idea : "Unbounded is consciousness" he reaches the sphere of unbounded consciousness (*Viññānānañcāyatana*) and abides therein. Through the total overcoming of the sphere of unbounded consciousness and at the idea : "Nothing is there", he reaches the sphere of Nothingness (*Ākiñcaññāyatana*) and abides therein. And, lastly, through the total overcoming of the sphere of nothingness he reaches the sphere

eyes and clear insight by which he could know the nature of beings. He saw them passing away and taking birth again

of Neither-Perception-Nor-Non-Perception (*Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*) and abides therein."

The four immaterial spheres (*Arūpāyatana*, properly speaking, belong still to the fourth trance, as they possess the two *Jhānangāni* of the Fourth trance, *i.e. Upekkhā* and *Ekaggatā* (Equanimity and concentration).

According to the *Abhidhamma*, *Rūpavacara Jhāna* consists of the five types instead of the four types as enumerated in the Suttas. There, in the *Abhidhamma* all the five constituents of Jhāna, viz., *Vitakka*, *Vicāra*, *Pīti*, *Sukha* and *Ekaggatā* are present in the First *Jhāna*, and the former *Jhāna* constituents go on subsiding one by one till the *Yogāvacara* attains the Fifth *Jhāna* in which *Sukha* also disappears and that is replaced by *Upekkhā* accompanied with *Ekaggatā*; whereas, according to the Suttas, both *Vitakka* and *Vicāra* subside at a time in the second *Jhāna*, *Pīti* also disappears in the Third *Jhāna* and *Sukha* being excluded and substituted by *Upekkhā* accompanied with *Ekaggatā* forms the fourth *Jhāna*. The *Kāmāvacara Citta* or the consciousness of the world of desires consists of the *Kusala* (*i.e.* moral), *Akusala* (immoral), *Vipāka* (*i.e.* resultant) and *Kriya* (inoperative) *Cittas* both *Sahetuka* and *Ahetuka* (*i.e.*, a feeble consciousness in which the subject is not fully aware, cannot be rooted in the *Hetus* and hence, called *Ahetuka*). The *Mahāggata Cittas* consist of *Kusala*, *Vipāka* and *Kriyā* types of consciousness. A being of the *Rūpa* or the *Arūpa* plane of life may, under the influence of ignorance (*Avijjā*) be led to think that it is an eternal and blissful state. He may thus create craving for life. His active *Jhāna* consciousness will then yield resultant, as an effect of which, he will be born again after death. He may be in the bondage of the following ten *Saṃyojana* or the fetters tying the beings to the wheel of existence, namely, (1) *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (personality belief or Ignorance of Identity), (2) *Vicikicchā* (Sceptical Doubt), (3) *Sīlabbata-Parāmāsa* (Clinging to more rules and ritual thinking that they would lead to purity), (4) *Kāmarāga* (Sensuous craving), (5) *Vyāpāda* (Ill-will), (6) *Rūparāga* (Craving for fine-material existence), (7) *Arūpa-rāga* (craving for immaterial existence), (8) Māna (conceit), (9) *Uddhacca* (restlessness) and (10) *Avijjā* (Ignorance). One, intending to get rid of them, meditates on *Anicca* (Impermanent), *Dukkha* (Miserable) and *Anatta* (Substanceless) nature of all existence, and obtains *Jhāna* on *Nibbāṇa* which is the ultimate goal of life. So doing, he who becomes free from the first three, is called a *Sotāpanna* or one

and again according to their deeds.[1] Finally, in the third watch of the night the Bodhisattva realised the nature of '*Āsavas*'[2], i.e., impurities, and of suffering, their causes, cessation and the way leading to their complete annihilation.[3] At this stage he discovered *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, i.e. the Law of Causation or Conditional Origination in which Avijjā, i.e. ignorance of the true nature of existence, that all is impermanent and soul-less, formed the basic cause of all worldly sufferings. He pondered over this law both in its possitive and

who has entered the stream leading to *Nibbāna* and is sure to become an *Arhat* utmost within the course of seven births. Besides these three, one, who has overcome the next two in their grosser form, is called a *Sakadāgāmī* or a 'Once-Returner' to this sensuous world, and the other who is fully freed from the first five fetters, which are named as '*Orambhāgiya Saṃyojana*' or lower fetters inasmuch as they are trying to the sensuous world, is called an '*Anāgāmī*' or Non-Returner to the sensuous world. Lastly, the being who becomes free even from the rest of the five, which are mentioned as *Uddhambhāgiya-saṃyojana, i.e.* higher fetters' inasmuch as they are trying to the higher worlds, *i.e.* the fine-material and immaterial world, is called an *Arhata* or a perfectly Holy One. All these four stages (*Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmī, Ahāgāmī* and *Arhata*) of consciousness belong to the Supra-mundane plane of mind where the being cannot fall a prey to the Immoral *Hetus* (*Akusala Mūla* which are enumerated as *Lobha* or greed, *Doṣa* or lill-will and *Moha* or ignorance) even if he is not in *Jhāna*. The moments of realising these stages of Super-mūndane consciousness are called *Magga Citta* or path consciousness and the moments of being conscious of the realisation are called *Phalacitta* or Fruit-consciousness. Thus the four *Maggas* are the four types of *Lokuttara* moral consciousness and their *Phalas* are the types of resultant consciousness. Among the beings of these eight *Lokuttara Cittas*, the first seven are called the *Sekha* or one who has still to learn and the last one of *Arhat Phalacitta*, is called an *Asekha* who has no more to learn.

1. "Dibbacakkhunā yathākammūpage satte passi".
2. There are four kinds of *Āsavas*, viz., *Kāmāsava* or sensuous impurity or bias, *Bhavāsava* or bias for existence, *Diṭṭhāsava* or bias of views and *Avijjāsava* or bias of ignorance. Bias of views is mostly left out inasmuch as it is included in the bias of ignorance.
3. *Āsāvakkhaya Paṭiccasamuppādañāṇam.*

negative forms.[1] At dawn he realised the evanescent nature of phenomenal objects and at the same time the reality of the ultimate and the end of existence, and thus realizing, the one striving as yet for enlightenment, became a fully enlightened one, i.e., the Buddha.

Thereafter, for a week, the Buddha, under the Bodhi tree, enjoyed pleasure of deliverance from miseries. During the second week he strolled meditatively. The third week he passed in gazing at the Bodhi tree reflecting over the way which led him to the Truth. In the fourth week, while he was engaged in taking short strolls, the Māra reappeared and requested him to enter into *Parinirvāṇa*, i.e., demise which the Buddha declined to abide by till he trained his disciples and established the order of his monks properly. He spent the fifth week in the serpent king, Mucalinda's abode[2], where he was duly protected from sun and rain by the latter's hood over him (the Buddha). The sixth week he passed in contemplation under the *Nyagrodha* tree[3] and finally he remained for a week under the *Tārāayna* tree. It was here that the traders, Tapassu and Bhallika[4] offered him sweets which proved to be the first offering of food after enlightenment and hence they became the first lay devotees of the Buddha. The Buddhist confraternity was not yet founded and therefore the two traders had to take only two *Saraṇa*, or refuges, viz., the *Buddha* and the *Dhamma* and thus, they were called *Dvevācikā Upāsakā*. While under the *Tārāyana* tree the Buddha thought it unwise

1. That is *Anuloma Paṭiccasamuppāda* and *Paṭiloma Paṭiccasamuppāda.*
2. *MV*, p. 5.
3. It was here that the *Māra* came to tempt him for attaining *Nibbāna* at once.
4. These two merchants were on their way from Utkala (part of Orissa) to Madhyadeśa (middle country). According to the Brahmanical texts this Madhyadeśa comprised the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas bounded on the east by Prayag and on the west by Vinaśana (Sarasvatī) in Rājasthāna. But according to the Buddhist texts the eastern limit of Madhyadesha extended up to the border of Bengal and included Magadha (South Bihar) and Aṅga (Monghyr in Bhagalpur districts).

to preach the *Dhamma*, i.e., the truth which was too deep to be understood by mankind given over to desires. Thereupon Brahmā Sahampati entreated him to preach the *Dhamma* for the good of many a people who could follow his preachings by virtue of being less attached. The Buddha agreed to the Brahma's request when he surveyed with his divine eyes the different natures of mankind as if they were in a pool of blue-red or white lotuses, some of them being not able to rise above the water, others reaching the surface of the water and still others standing out of the water quite detached.

Then looking for the fit person, who could follow him easily, and knowing his previous teachers : Ālārakālāma and Uddaka Rāmputta to have died, the Buddha remained for a while at Uruvelā. He then set out for turning the Wheel of the Truth among the Five Mendicants who had served him quite sincerely while he was struggling hard to obtain Truth. They were then wandering at the Deer Park near Vārāṇasī[1]. On the way the Buddha happended to meet an Ājīvaka ascetic named Upaka. When Upaka heard the Buddha replying to him that he (Buddha) was the unparalleled and fully enlightened one going to Kāśī in order to beat the drum of immortality, he (Upaka) went off a by-path without taking any interest in the former's talk. The Buddha reached (Ṛṣipatana) or the Deer Park (Sāranātha)[2] for preaching his First Sermon, known as the *Dhamma Cakkappavatana* or the Sutra of Turning the Wheel of the Doctrine as detailed in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[3].

Thus the missionary career of the Teacher begins with

1. *LV*, verse 528 (406) says that the Buddha had to cross the Ganges by air for want of money as a result of which Bimbisāra, the then King of Magadha abolished the toll for the ascetics.
2. The name Ṛṣipatana owes its origin to the fall of the bodies of five hundred *Pratyeka Buddhas* (*Ṛṣis*) at this spot after attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, which the other name, i.e. Mṛgadāya is derived from the legend that the king of Vārāṇasi moved by the spirit of self-sacrifice of Bodhisattva born as a dear named Nyagrodha-mṛga granted security to the herds of deer to roam freely in the wood of Sāranātha.
3. *SamN*, Vol. IV, pp. 360-365.

his First Sermon at the Deer Park[1]. The *Mahāparinibbāna* Sutta says that the Great Decease of the *Tathāgata* occurred while he was an octogenarian. His missionary activities beginning from the First Sermon down to his Last Words will form the subject-matter of our next chapter.

1. It is one of the Four Great Places named by the the Buddha on his death-bed. The seed of the *Saṃgh* was also sown here with the conversion of the householder Yaśa and his fifty-four friends. The place continued to be a leading centre of Buddhism till the last days of the faith in northern India, under, such names as *Dharma-cakra-vihāra*, *Saddharma-cakra-vihāra* and *Saddharma-cakra-pravartana-vihāra.* The relics excavated are varied. The remains date from the days of Aśoka (pillar edicts regarding schism). Kushan and Gupta period records are also inscribed. Another monument attributed to Aśoka is the Dharmarājika stūpa which underwent six additions including the last one built in the twelfth century A.D. by Kumāradevī, the Buddhist queen of Govinda Chandra (Circa A.D. 1114-54) of Kannauj. On the top of a lofty edifice known as Chaukhandī is a tower built in the reign of Akbar to commemorate the visit of Humayu to this place.

4

Missionary Activities and Following

We have already stated how the Truth-seeking Bodhisattva, renouncing the worldly life at the age of twenty-nine, attained enlightenment after six years of ascetic practices and thereupon started his career as a teacher. By this time his age comes to thirty-five years in view of the verses uttered by the *Māra* who was defeated by the Bodhisattva in the seventh year of the combat[1]. The teacher having died in his eightieth year, appears to have spent forty-five years of his life in preaching the doctrines wandering from place to place during the nine dry months and spent the rains at a particular place, which is duly confirmed by the opening verses of the Great Chronicle, i.e., the Mahāvaṃsa[2]. During this period he moved about Kośala (Oudh), Magadha (South Bihar) and Aṅga (Monghyer and Bhagalpur district) and went on far west as the country of the Kurus (Delhi). On the basis of the records the *Buddhavaṃsa* has fitted the sequence of events of the first twenty years of the Lord with the places of his sojourn during the rains and this has been adopted by Bigandet and followed by Kern and Rhys Davids. The Tibetan sources have fixed the first seventeen

1. *SamN*, I, pp. 121-27.
2. "Pañcanetto jino pañcacattālīsa samāsamo, ṭhatvā sabbānikiccāni katvā lokassa sabbathā." *MVam*, First Council, Verse 1.

years at Jetavana, eight at Rājagṛha and the rest of the years at various places, while other sources have done in different ways. We are here to describe the Buddha's missionary activities on the line of the Buddhavaṃsa, though there is nothing like an exact chronology.

The Buddha first came to the five mendicants in the Deer Park (Sāranātha). The five mendicants[1], who had been living with him at Uruvelā (near Bodh-Gayā) hoping that when he would find out the Truth, he would reveal it to them, now decided to pay no regard for the teacher who had then himself come to preach them the way to emancipation. The Buddha had already begun to take normal food, and gained strength thereby. Those monks thus seeing him gaining flesh took him to be one abounding in luxuries. But soon after he came to them, the holy personality of the teacher subdued their premeditated disregard for him and they welcomed him and served as usual. Then also the teacher, having analysed their psychology, found that it would not be easy to convince all of them at a time. So the Buddha preached to two of them while the other three went for alms, and then to the remaining three of them when the others went abroad.

Enjoying earthly pleasures in affluent family circumstances and practising severe penances thereafter, the Buddha had realized the futility of these two types of extreme behaviour. Hence he first preached to the five monks to avoid the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification and follow the *Majjhimāpaṭipadā*, i.e. middle or better say "Balanced course" of behaviour in religious life. He had observed the necessity of strict chastity, of taking nourishment only to support life and not for pleasure, of avoiding gratification of the senses and of keeping the mind under rigid discipline. And it was this balanced behaviour which the Buddha required of a monk. So also regarding the necessity of maintaining balance in thought he remarked that the extremist theory of external soul or the like, and the other extremist theory of

1. The five mendicants were : Aññākoṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Assaji and Mahānāma who were called the *Pañcavcrgians.*

annihilation of life after death, must be avoided. The Buddha thus advocated the theory of rebirth through the medium of action, which if remained devoid of attachment would lead to no more existence and, in other words, would bring deliverance from all miseries to the being. Thereupon the Buddha elaborated the Four Noble Truths regarding the nature of evil or suffering and the way to put an end to it consisting of the Eightfold Noble Path upon which we would like to dwell at length in the sequel. Lastly, the teacher preached them that there was no entity apart from being, as it is detailed in the *Anattalakkhaṇa* Sutta[1] entitled as "*Pañca Sutta*" in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Thus hearing him, these disciples became the first five monk-converts of the teacher and the order of the was founded thereby. In connection with these first monks was founded thereby. In connection with these first monk-disciples of the teacher it may be noted that the five were Brahmins, among whom the first one called Ajñāta Koṇḍaṇya was one invited by Śuddhodana to ascertain the future of Siddārtha Kumāra, and the last one named Aśvajita had attracted Sāriputra to Buddhism by pronouncing the well-known verse, "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā, tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha. . . ."[2]. The five ascetics formed the nucleus of the *Saṃgha* (Congregation or Order of monks).

Then, at the same Deer Park, the Buddha ordained Asita's sister's (and Avanti[3]-king's priest's) son, Nālaka of the Kātyāyana Gotra and Sabhiya who were recluses. So also the recluse Pūrṇa Maitrāyanī Putra was probably ordained in the first or second year of the Buddha's ministration. But no mention is made about these three recluses in the *Mahāvagga*. Of course, the *Nālaka* and *Sabhiya* Suttas of the *Sutta-Nipāta* refer to the first two recluses, but it is only the *Mahāvasta* which gives the details of the ordination of these three recluses.

These converts, even before embracing Buddha's teaching, had been followers of a religious life; but the next batch of

1. *SamN*, Vol. II, p. 295 ff.
2. *MV*, p. 39.
3. Mālvā, Nimāra and the neighbouring parts of Central India with Ujjini as its capital.

recruits came from the wealthy mercantile families of Vārāṇasī (Uttar Pradesh). The first one in the next batch was a youth named Yaśa who joined the order[1]. He was followed by his parents and former wife as lay devotees and by his fifty-four friends as monks including Vimala, Subāhu, Punnaji and Gavampati making the number of Buddha's monk-disciples altogether fifty-nine. The Buddha asked them to wander in different directions for the good and happiness of the many by preaching his doctrines which had an excellent beginning, middle and end and which were conducive to perfection among the spiritually advanced ones. The monks in compliance with his directive went forth and brought candidates to be ordained by the Buddha, who, considering the trouble in their journey, authorised the monks to fulfil that job of the *Tathāgata*. Then, after taking up a fixed abode (*āvāsa*) during the three months of the rainy season, the Buddha set out for Gayāśīśa to preach the *Dhamma* among the powerful *Jaṭila* ascetics. While on the way, he met thirty youths searching for the harlots who had taken away some of their valuable articles. They were convinced by the teacher's instruction of looking for their ownselves rather than for the women or any other thing of temporal enjoyment. Thus they became Buddha's disciples.

Reaching Uruvelā (according to Rockhill-'Gayāśīśa') the Buddha converted the three fire-worshipping Kāśyapa *Jaṭilas* matted-hair ascetics of that locality along with their disciples numbering one thousand by performing a number of miracles, including the subduing of a serpent in the fire-chapel of Kāśyapa and also walking over the flooded waters of the

1. Joining the order as a monk in the Buddhist order requires removing of hair, assuming the yellow robe and reciting three times the threefold taking of *Śaraṇa*, *i.e.* refuge in the Buddha, in the *Dhamma* or the Doctrine and in the *Saṃgha* or the Order of monks. This is held as the second form of ordination as detailed in the *Vinayā*. Yaśa and the members of his family are thus called the *Tevācika Upāsakā*, whereas Tapassu and Bhallika were the *Dvevācika Upāsakā* inasmuch as there was no *Saṃgha* then.

Nairañjanā (Falgu). These ascetics indulged in self-mortification. So the Buddha preached to them the sermon of Ad'tthapariyāya Sutta and explained thereby that every thing was burning with sorrows of birth, decay, death, grief, lementation, dejection and despair and that the real fire consisted of *Rāga*, i.e., attachment ; *Dosa*, i.e.. hatred and Moha, i.e., delusion which were caused by the contact of sense-perception with the objects. Thereafter he went to the Supratiṣtha shrine in the Yaṣṭivana (Jethian or Laṭṭhivana) of Rājagṛha to redeem a former promise to king Bimbisāra of Magadha.

Bimbisāra received the Buddha along with the friars at a dinner which the Buddha accepted for the first time in place of the alms-begging. After entertaining them at the dinner the king listened to the teacher's sermon on *Anatta*, i e., non-existence of soul and on Anicca, i.e., impermanence of worldly objects and thereby he obtained insight into the Truth. The king then donated the bamboo grove called Venuvana to the Buddha and the Order at Rājagṛha where many of the important discourses were delivered by the Lord. The king disclosed to the Lord that he had entertained the following five wishes while he was a prince and they were then fulfilled : "that he might be a consecrated king; that the Arhat, i.e., the all-enlightened should visit his kingdom; that he should honour the Lord; that the Lord should teach him the doctrine and that he should make out the doctrine of the Lord." In his book, *The Life of the Buddha*, E.J. Thomas says that this does not agree exactly with the story of Bimbisāra's first meeting with the Buddha. But there does not appear any reason for his disagreement on the point. Bimbisāra was a consecrated king before he met Siddhārtha while the latter was striving for Buddhahood, i.e , enlightenment at Rājagṛha [1] So also the king's son Ajātaśatru met the Buddha in the Mango-grove of Jetavana after committing patricide[2]. Thus Bimbisāra's wishes being fulfilled by Buddha's visit to the king, leaves no ground

1. *Pabbajā Sutta, SN.*
2. *Sandiṭṭhika Sāmaññaphala Sutta, DN.*

for any disagreement with the incident of the king's (Bimbisāra's) first meeting with the Bodhisattva.

During this period the two friends, Sāriputra and Maudagalyāyana, who were attracted towards the Lord through Aśvajit, were ordained along with two hundred and fifty companions and disciples of Sañjaya by the Lord at Veṇuvana, the abode of Kalandaka, Aśvajita, in reply to Sāriputra's query regarding the doctrine of the former's teacher told him that he could not expound the doctrine and discipline at length inasmuch as he had left the world recently. F.J. Thomas says that this does not harmonise with the fact that Aśvajita was an *Arhata* and one of the sixty four monks who had been sent out to preach the Dhamma. But, since Aśvajita had stated the central points of the Doctrine as contained in his verse, "*Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā. . .*" Thomas's doubt in Aśvajita being one of those sixty-four *Arhatas*, i.e., the beings free from the bondage of existence, does not find firm footing. In fact Aśvajita appears to have put the central points of Buddhism only in a few words which were pregnant with sense and sufficient to attract the sharp minded religious mendicant like Sāriputra. Aśvajita meant to say that the *Tathāgata* had explained the cause of all objects which are produced by cause; and how to attain their cessation, was the central point of the doctrine of the Great Saint. He thereby convinced Sāriputra that there was no permanent self and that all worldly objects were the products of causes and conditions, and that the sources of worldly objects, which caused sufferings, must be destroyed in order to attain eternal bliss, the ultimate goal of life. But still perhaps only as a mark of his humility Aśvajita forwarded Sāriputra's case to the Lord. Aśvajita plausibly did not convert Sāriputra though the authority was delegated to him. He wanted that the talented youth should be ordained by the Buddha himself and become his general in the *Dhamma.* Hence, there is no question of break in harmony with the fact that Aśvajita was an *Arhata* who had the capability to attract the sharp minded Sāriputra all at once only with a few words.

Sāriputra, says the commentary, was named after his

mother who was called 'Rūpasāri' and his personal name was Upatissa inasmuch as he was born in a village of that name[1]. On the contrary, Rockhill calls him Upatissa or 'Minor Tissa', i.e. the son of 'Tissa'. So also the Pali commentators say that Sāriputra's friend Maulgalyāyana belonged to the former's neighbouring village named Kolita[2] and he was so named after his mother who was called 'Maudgali'. But Thomas supports Rockhill and says that Maudgalyāyana is a clan name; and Kolita, his personal name. However, both of them were Brahmins of the villages near Rājagṛha and they became the chief disciples of the Buddha. The first was famous for his insight and preaching; and the second for Ṛddhi, i.e., mystical powers. When Devadatta was making the monks of his party believe that the Buddha was given to luxury and abundance, it was after Sāriputra-Maudgalyāyana's preaching that those monks are said to have left Devadatta and were reordained after confessing their offence. Sāriputra died after instructing his mother and the Buddha caused his relic shrine to be made at Śrāvastī[3]. Maudgalyāyana is said to have been murdered by a robber at the instigation of the heretics. His relic shrine was caused to be made by the Buddha at the entrance of Veluvana[4]. He is said to have attempted to kill his dim-lighted parents in a previous life when he had brought them in a forest and wanted to kill in the name of the robbers from whom his parents asked him to escape and thus his mind was turned and the actual murder was not performed. Sāriputra died in the room where he was born. The earthly remains of these two chief disciples are still preserved and worshipped in sacred places. In November, 1952 these relics were reinterred in a specially erected *stūpa* at Sānchī[5] from where they had been taken and deposited in a London museum.

1. A village named Sarichaka in the east of Nālandā Museum (in Nālandā District) still exists.
2. Village Kulagāw still exists near Nālandā.
3. Saheth-Maheth, districts Gonda and Bahraich, Uttar Pradesh.
4. The mound near the modern Inspection Bangalow at Rajgṛha, district Nālandā is taken to be its site.
5. In district Raisen, Madhya Pradesh.

After the ordination of the two chief disciples, Mahā Kāśyapa Agnidatta (Pipphali Māṇava), a Brahman recluse of Rājagṛha, was ordained and imparted discources on Right Exertion, i.e. *Sammāvāyāmo* and on the importance of observance of disciplinary rules and sensual control. His wife, Bhadrā Kapilānī also joined the order after the formation of the order of the nuns in later years. While at Rājagṛha the Buddha was invited by Śuddhodana. The Buddha complied with his father's request and visited his city in the second year of his ministration while he was staying at the Nyagrodha hill quite nearby. The Buddha displayed miracles like walking in mid-air in order to convince his father regarding his son's better achievements than those of a universal monarch whose life was fraught with danger and grief. He instructed him to discard extreme affection which results in grief. Śuddhodana and his daughter in law Yaśodharā became the Buddha's lay disciples. Her devotion, undisturbed by the advances of Devadatta and Saundarananda, had compelled the Buddha to visit her personally. She joined the nun's order after it was founded by the Buddha's foster mother, Mahāprajāpati Gotamī. Yaśodharā had inspired her son Rāhula to follow his father, the Buddha and demand his inheritance. He was then a child only seven years old and was made a *Śrāmaṇera*[1] (i.e. an apprentice of a monk) by Sāriputra. Hearing the intelligence of Rāhula's ordination, Śuddhodana, very much pained as he was, asked the Buddha to grant a boon not to confer the *Pabbajā* or monkhood on a son without the consent of his parents inasmuch as, said Śuddhodana, he had severe pain when the Bodhisattva abandoned him and so also when Nanda (our Buddha's half brother) and especially when Rāhula deserted him. Śuddhodana further added that the love of son cut through the skin, hide, flesh, sinew, bone and the marrow. The Buddha appreciated the feeling and granted the boon which was made a Vinaya rule. Thereafter the Buddha ordained the following Śākyas and other youths at the Anupriya grove[2] in the country of the Mallas :

1. *MV*, pp. 86-87.
2. *CV*, pp 279-83.

(1) Ānanda—He was the cousin of the Bodhisattva and later on his most loved disciple who became the custodian of *Dhamma* including *Abhidhamma*. He could give the most authentic version of the doctrine of the Buddha by virtue of being his personal attendant for a pretty long time after Upavāna.[1]

(2) Anuruddha—He was also Bodhisattva's cousin who was almost his constant companion. It was he who could read between the lines of the secret of the Buddha's body unmoved by the Mallas in view of the spirit's wish that it should be carried through the city and not outside that. So also Anuruddha explained to the Mallas that the funeral pyre would not catch fire unless Mahākāśyapa, who was then on his way to pay his last respects to the Teacher, should arrive before the cremation.

(3) Bhadriya—He came of an old aristocratic family.

(4) Mahāprajāpati Gotamī's son, Nanda—He was the Bodhisattava's half-brother and shortly to be coronated and married with the *Janapadakalyānī*, of whom he was convinced to be far less beautiful than the nymphs created by the Buddha in order to generate detachment in him towards the evanescence of earthly life.[2]

(5) Devadatta—He was the Bodhisattva's first cousin as also Yaśodharā's brother who proved to be the Buddhist Judas. He gained Ajātaśatru's support by virtue of his miraculous powers he had attained after ordination.[3] He proposed to the Buddha to nominate him as his successor. The Buddha told him that he was not going to appoint any successor, not even his best disciples like Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and not to talk of the evil minded Devadatta. Thus Devadatta became revengeful towards the Buddha. It was at Devadatta's incitement that Bimbisāra's ungrateful son, Ajātaśatru put his father to death by starving him slowly in the confinement.

1. *SamN*, Vol. II, p. 36.
2. *KhuN*, Vol. I, pp. 86-90. Nanda intends to leave the order and is ridiculed by the monks for the same.
3. *CV*, *pp*. 283-84.

So also with Ajātaśatru's co-operation Devadatta hired assassins; threw a huge boulder at the Buddha from the Gṛddhrakūṭa's peak and let loose Nālāgiri, a mad elephant in Buddha's way with a view to killing him, but all in vain.[1]

However, he had the support of the monks like Kokālika and Koṭamaraka Tissa, of the nuns like Sthūlanandā and of the lay disciples like Daṇḍapāni and Suprabuddha. He became the leader of those monks who disapproved of so much laxity in the Vinaya rules introduced by the Buddha every now and then. He insisted upon the stricter rules regarding eating, dwelling and raiment to be made compulsory. This was a unique combination of piety and ambition in the words of Eliot. But then his piety was motivated to provoke a schism by exploiting the dissatisfaction against the Lord likely to be caused by the strictness in upholding the rigid rules. After all, these rules of conduct were only some of the means to attain the higher spiritual life for which one might practise such strictness if he so liked, but to Buddha no compulsion appeared to be necessary.

Then again, Eliot observes that it was perhaps by some error of arrangement that after committing such unpardonable crimes Devadatta is represented as still a member of the order and endeavouring to provoke a schism by asking for stricter rules. I am here inclined to think that such revengeful attitude of Devadatta towards the Buddha, who had publicly denounced him by calling '*Khelāpaka*' or spitoon like worthless and evil-minded one, was somewhat natural as a human weakness on the part of Devadatta. After all, the Buddha was the *Dharmarāja*, i.e., the King of the Doctrine and he had already appointed Sāriputra as '*Dharmasenāpati*', i.e., the General of the Doctrine in the former's early career and it

1. The splinters of the boulder however struck the Buddha's foot and caused blood to flow at which the Lord uttered, "Great demerit, evil man, have you produced for yourself in that with murderous thought you have caused the blood of a *Tathāgata* to flow." The monks thereupon wished to have a guard provided, but the Buddha pointed out that it was impossible for anyone to deprive him of life, for *Tathāgatas* attain *Nibbāna* in the ordinary course.

may be presumed that, had Sāriputra survived the Buddha, he would have been the Buddha's successor by virtue of the authority vested in him as his chief disciple and expounder of the Doctrine in his place. But on the other hand, this Devadatta, when he wants to relieve the ageing Buddha of his burden of the fraternity of monks and says that he (the Buddha) need not worry for the fraternity and can safely depend upon him (Devadatta) who has got the same feeling for the order of monks as the Buddha himself has[1], he (Devadatta) is abused publicly as stated above and is denied the opportunity to serve the order in the capacity of its Head. But he is not expelled from the fraternity consisting of several monks of Devadatta's way of thinking. After all, the Buddha must have allowed opportunities to the last for the correction of such persons and must have won them over by goodwill and not by punishment. The other side of the picture is that Devadatta represented the evil spirit of the fraternity, which had to grow among odds during the life-time of the Lord himself and, on the other hand, Devadatta's existence was essential to prove the uncommon tolerance on the part of the Teacher. It may also be added that the Buddha believed in the democratic growth of the society where freedom was allowed for opposition. Lastly, it may be noted that it was possible to accept Gotama's doctrine, or the greater part of it, as something independent of his personality. Fa-Hsien, while visiting India in the fourth century, finds the followers of Devadatta still existent in Kośala (Oudh) and revered the three previous Buddhas but refused to recognise Gautama. The murder of Sundarī, who was induced by the heretics to pretend as the Buddha's concubine with a view to defaming him as detailed in the *Udāna* and the *Jātaka*, represents the same spirit of the Buddha's opponents[2]. Thus, it is clear that Devadatta represented a powerful section of opposition in the Buddha's confraternity and the Buddha did not think it wise to exacerbate the feeling of Devadatta who was the leader of

1. Devadatta was, after all, Buddha's cousin and brother-in-law.
2. *KhN*, Vol. I, pp. 113-115 (*Sundarī Suttaṃ*).

opposition. So there was no error of arrangement if Devadatta still continued as a member of Buddha's order of monks. But, however, it is not certain as to which part of the anecdote concerning Devadatta is a genuine historical truth, far from the fanciful literary romance of the compilers of the text or its commentary.

(6) Upāli—He was a barber and had, afterwards, become the receptacle of Vinaya.

(7) Chandaka—He was the charioteer of the Bodhisattva.

(8) Kimbila.

The Buddha then returned from Kapilavastu and was staying at the Sītavana of Rājagṛha. In the meanwhile, Sudatta, a householder of Śrāvastī, known from his bounty as Anāthapiṇḍika, i.e., the giver of alms to the unprotected, in course of a visit to his wife's brother, the gildmaster of Rājagṛha[1], was converted after listening to the Buddha's preaching that worldly phenomena were soulless and composites of some evanescent elements and qualities, and that all existent things were never without some cause and other, and lastly, that it was one's deeds that produced miseries and happiness. Having gained faith in the Lord, he desired to build a monastery for the Buddha at his own native place then ruled by Prasenajita. Sāriputra helped him (Anāthapiṇḍika) in choosing the site suitable for the purpose. The site which was selected, belonged to prince Jeta. The prince did not agree to part with the land, the major portion of which, however, was covered with gold donated by Anāthapiṇḍika. When Prince Jeta learnt that it was being done for the purpose of Buddha's use, he himself donated the rest of the portion of the land together with the trees offering protection by its shadow there at and erected a gateway with a room on the vacant spot. Hence, the monastery was named after both

1. E.J. Thomas says that Anāthapiṇḍika's sister was the wife of the gild-master of Rājagṛha, which, I think, is not correct. The relationship was rather the reverse. Cf "Anāthapiṇḍiko rājagahakassa-seṭṭhissa bhaginipatiko hoti," *CV*, pp. 249.

of them as '*Anāthapiṇḍikassa jetavanārāmam*.'[1] Here the Teacher gave many discourses in course of spending rainy retreat in later time. Hearing the intelligence that the Buddha had come to Śrāvastī, king Prasenajita rushed up to him. The teacher admonished him to avoid extreme austerities and wrong views as preached by the heretics as also to follow the right path.

In the meantime there were many occasions of showdown which the heretics had to meet at the hands of the Master. The people of Vaiśālī felt a great relief in course of the Buddha's visit to their place, which was then raging with pestilence disabling the heretics in proving themselves to be of any use for the inhabitants on the occasion of the epidemic. Secondly, the heretics' purpose of arranging Ciñcā Māṇavikā to defame the Teacher by attributing her pseudo pregnancy to him was foiled. Thirdly, the Buddha humiliated them by growing a mango-tree within a few minutes at Śrāvastī and by walking in the air[2]. The *Tathāgata* forbade the monks displaying such miracle or using wooden bowl[3].

The Buddha was staying at Vaiśālī in the Kūṭāgāraśālā, i.e. Pinnacled Hall where he learnt about his father's death and visited him through air in the fifth year of his enlightenment. It was at this time, according to one account, that he averted an imminent strife between the Śākyas and Koliyas over the water of the Rohini. Their skirmishes had widowed many women who prevailed upon Mahāprajāpati Gotami, who was herself a widow then, to found an order of nuns. Mahāprajāpati persuaded the Buddha to ordain her, but was denied the privilege. The Buddha perhaps held the view that women

1. Three of the most important monasteries founded at Rājagṛha, Kapilavastu and Śrāvasti within two years of the first preaching were Veluvana by Bimbisāra, Nyagrodha by Śākyas and Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika respectively.
2. *CV*, pp. 199 201.
3. Regarding the display of miracle by the *Tathāgata*, the Buddha explained to Bimbisāra that the Buddha had the right to do so just as the kind had to eat the mangoes of his grove, but would not allow others to take them

were better suited for household life and should earn merits by becoming lay devotees. But, while preaching that homeless life was better suited for leading higher spiritual life, he had not excluded the women folk from the picture. It was on the basis of this argument that the Buddha allowed Mahāprajāpati Gotamī to be ordained in the Buddhist Saṃgha after the advocacy of Ānanda. Women abound in emotion and they are the store-house of attraction for sensuous pleasure. Emotion, if it dominated in the life of a man, might cause imbalance in holy life. Hence the Buddha, I am inclined to think, did not like them (women) to act as partners making the wandering monk's life appear as that of a householder. So also the Teacher is expected to be aware of the fact that men are sexually weaker than women, whereas women possess less resistance than men[1]. However, it is, in the words of Eliot, "Parhaps the only instance in which he is represented as convinced by arguments" and at last he yielded. But, still he imposed eight conditions for the ordination of a woman probably in accordance with the prevalent superiority of the male over the female member on the Indian soil. The Lord says "If Ānanda, Mahāprajāpati will take upon herself the following *Aṣṭa Guru Dharmas*, i.e., the Eight Strict Rules, let her be ordained" :

(1) A nun should respect monks even if they are sufficiently junior to her.
(2) The nun shall not spend rainy retreat in a monkless place.
(3) The nuns should ask the order of the monks regarding the time of fortnightly *Uposatha* and about the time of monk's admonition to the nuns.
(4) After Retreat, the Pavāraṇā[2] or the final ceremony

1. Aristotle is said to have warned Alexander the Great against woman who is the greatest weakness of man. So also Shakespeare says : "Frailty, thy name is woman." In thy *MPNS* the Buddha himself tells the monks not to see women, not to talk with them and to keep wide awake if at all they happen to talk to them.
2. The end of the rainy season was marked by the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony, at which the monks asked one another to pardon any offences that

is to be held by the nuns both in the assembly of the monks and of the nuns.

(5) Certain offences are to be dealt with by both the assemblies.

(6) A novice, who has been trained in the six rules for two years, is to ask for ordination from both assemblies.

(7) A monk is never to be rebuked by a nun on any pretext and

(8) Henceforth, utterance of nuns to monks is forbidden, but not *vice versa*.

Mahāprajāpati declares that she takes up those rules not to be transgressed so long as she is alive. When the matter is reported to the Lord, he replies that the good doctrine and discipline would have lasted long for a thousand years if women had not received *Pabbajā*, i.e. the going forth, but after their entrance in the order of the monks, *Brahmacarya*, or the religious system will stay only for five hundred years. He further says that just as the houses dominated by women, are easily broken into by robbers, or just as the rice or sugar-cane fields, when attacked by disease, are ruined within a short period, even so in the doctrine and discipline in which a woman goes forth the religious system will not last long. And lastly the teacher adds that, just as a man might in anticipation make a dyke for a great reservoir, so that the water should not overflow, even so he (the *Tathāgata*) prescribed those eight rules for the nuns, not to be transgressed lifelong. Since women are rather emotion personified, monks might go astray in their company. Hence, as a safeguard against the out-flowing emotion-like water contained in the reservoir embodied in the women, the Buddha laid down the strict rules as a dyke. Anyhow, the order of the nuns headed by Gotamī was thus started with those

might have been committed, and immediately after it came the *Kaṭhina* ceremony or distribution of robes. *Kaṭhina* signifies the store of raw cotton-cloth presented by the laity and held as common property untill distributed to individuals.

Śākyan and Koliyan ladies whose husbands had died or become monks.

The Buddha is said to have passed the sixth retreat at the Maṅkula hill near Śrāvastī and thereupon gone to the *Trāyastrinsa* heaven during the seventh rainy seclusion in order to instruct his mother. Coming daily on the earth to take his meals, he is said to have given the *Mātikā*, i.e., the gist of his preachings to Sāriputra who later on developed the same into *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and handed it over to his disciples.

Thereafter, the Buddha came to Saṅkāśya forest (west of Fatehgarh in Farrukhabad, Uttar Pradesh), the descending scene of which has been depicted by the ancient sculptors showing a ladder touching the earth.

His eighth retreat was passed on the Suṃsumāra hill of the Bhaggas (the country between the Yamuna and the lower valley of the Son) where he was entertained by king Udayana's son named Bodhi Rājakumāra.

In the ninth year Buddha at the Ghositerāma monastery at Kauśāmbi (Kosam, district Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh). Here occurs the incident of the beautiful Māgaṇḍiya[1] who felt insulted when the Buddha declined to marry her. She was wedded to king Udayana of Kośāmbī. She got Samāvati, another extremely beautiful consort of the king and the adopted daughter of a Śresṭhī of Kośāmbī, burnt along with her (Samāvatī's) five hundred attendants[2] on account of Samāvatī's devotion to the Buddha.

It is at Kośāmbī that we first hear of a dissension in the Buddhist church. An unnamed monk of Kośāmbi is said to have refused to confess his fault, but still he was expelled from the order which the rule did not permit without confession. On the other hand he had violated the rule of confession by not acknowledging his offence which he had actually committed. The Buddha failed to reconcile the

1. Māgaṇḍiya Sutta, *SN* and *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 398-400.
2. "Antepuraṃ daḍḍhaṃ hoti pañca ca itthisatāni kālam katāni honti Samāvati pamukhāni", *Udāna*, *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 160.

contending parties. This caused his lonely retirement to keep his tenth retreat in the neighbouring Pārileyyaka forest where he was attended by a friendly old elephant. At the end of rains those monks apologized before the Buddha.[1] In the *Vinaya* there occur certain rules for settling disputes. Like all the rules they originate from particular incidents that gave occasion to the Buddha for the promulgation of the regulations by which such matters were to be settled.

While spending the eleventh *varṣā* at the Dakṣiṇāgiri in Ekanālā village near Rājagṛha, the Buddha converted the Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣi Bhāradvāja by comparing himself to a farmer. He said that *Saddhā*, i.e. faith was his seed: *Tapa*, i.e. penance, the rains; *Paññā*, i.e. wisdom, the yoke and plough; *Hiri*, i.e., modesty, the plough-share and goad;[2] and *Dhamma*, the plough-field. In order to cultivate knowledge for harvesting *Nibbāna* the field had to be cleaned of the weeds of desires by the ethical observances. It is perhaps during this period that Nandamātā as also called Velukaṇṭakī, became the lay disciple of the Buddha.

During the twelfth *Varṣāvāsa* at Verañjā near Mathura in Śrāvastī, a famine broke out. King Agnidatta, at the instigation of his Brāhmaṇa ministers, forbade his subjects to offer alms to the monks. Maudgalyāyana was forbidden procuring food by magic. The horse traders, however, came to their rescue from starvation. At the end of the retreat the king realising his folly, begged pardon of the Teacher and extended invitation which the Buddha accepted. Then the Buddha travelled through Soreyya, Saṅkāśya, Kānyakubja (Kannauja), Prayag (Allahabad) and reached Vārāṇasī. It is here that Mahākātyāyana, the son of the priest of king Caṇḍapradyota of Avantī, becomes our Buddha's disciple. He established a centre of Buddhism in Ujjena where he (Mahākātyāyana) converted Soṇakoṭika and a few Brāhmaṇas. The centre attained importance during the second council and was greatly enlarged by Aśoka and his queen.

1. *MN*, Vol. I, p. 393 and Vol. III, p. 221.
2. *KhN*, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

The thirteenth retreat was spent by the Lord at the Cāliya hill near Kapilavastu where he had accepted the invitation of Mahānāma who was his rich Śākyan relative and foster-father of Ambpāli. It is here that the Buddha explained to Meghiya then attending him, that the following five requisites must be fulfilled as preliminary for preaching higher stages of meditation: (a) a good friend, (b) restraint of moral rules, (c) proper discourse tending to *Nirvāṇa*, (d) energy in abandoning evil thoughts with firmness and in producing good thoughts and (e) acquiring of insight.[1]

In the fourteenth year of the Buddha's retreat at Śrāvastī Rāhula was fully ordained (*Upasampādita*) at the age of twenty[2] at prescribed in the *Vinaya*. The fifteenth rainy seclusion was spent at Kapilavastu.

During his sixteenth *Varsā* at Ālavī[3] near Śravastī the Teacher converted a child-eating *Yākṣa* named Alavaka and admonished the importance of faith, truthfulness, wisdom, energy, firmness, charity and patience to swim out the ocean of worldly life.[4]

In the seventeenth *Varsā* at Śrāvastī the Teacher discoursed the Four Noble Truths to a poor farmer, and in the eighteenth, to the dying daughter of a weaver at the Cāliya hill. The nineteenth *Varṣā* was passed at Rājagṛha.

In course of the twentieth *Varṣāvāsa* at Śrāvastī the Buddha converted the notorious robber Aṅgulimāla, who was the son of the priest of king Prasenajita of Kośala, and had

1. "Aparipakkāya, Meghiya, cetovimuttiyā pañca dhammā paripakkāya samvattanti—kalyanamitto—silavā—abhisallekhika cetovivaranasppāyā—araddha viriyo—paññava hoti," *AN*, Vol. IV, p. 8 and *KhN*, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.
2. "Na bhikkhave Jānaṃ unavīsativasso puggalo upasampādetabbo", *MV*, p. 81. "Anujānāmi bhikkhave gabbhavīsaṃ upasampādetuṃ," Ibid, p. 97.
3. Nevala or Navala in District Unnao, Uttar Pradesh according to Cunningham and Athiwa, twenty-seven miles north-east of Etawah according to Nand Lal Dibala Mitre in Buddhist Monuments, p. 6 says that Ālvī was the forest tract of Central India.
4. Ālavaka Sutta, *KhN*, Vol. I, p. 296.

killed ninety-nine men. Lastly, he was going to attack his mother as the hundredth with a view to presenting the garland of those human fingers to his teacher as a matter of duty to meet the latter's demand. His teacher was incited against him by his jealous classmates at Takṣaśilā. The Buddha checked Aṅgulimāla from committing matricide and tamed him to lay aside violence.[1] During this very period Ānanda accepted his appointment as the permanent attendant (*Upaṭṭhāka*) of the Lord on the following conditions :

(1) That he might refuse the fine robe or alms received by the Teacher and then given to him (Ānanda), as also his (Ānanda's) inclusion in the Buddha's personal invitation;
(2) that he should not dwell in the Buddha's scented chamber;
(3) that he might accompany the Lord in an invitation;
(4) that he might present persons visiting the Lord from a distance;
(5) that he is allowed to approach the Teacher whenever he liked; and
(6) that the Teacher should repeat him whatever was taught to others in his (Ānanda's) absence.

Thus it appears that Ānanda, after twenty years of his career as a monk, was the Buddha's permanent attendant for the remaining twenty-five years of the Lord's career. Henceforth, the Lord stayed permanently at Śrāvastī, either in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika Jetavana or in the Pūrvārāma of Viśākhā, the latter of which will be described in the following pages:

Besides the above, there were also several other important disciples of different sexes, classes, creeds, castes and professions who came to the Teacher from far off countries like Gandhāra[1], Avantī and Aṅgas. Following is the list of

1. *MN*, Vol. II, pp. 344-351.
2. Territory between modern Lamghan and Jalalabad on the west, the hills of Swat and Buner on the north. The Indus and Rawalpindi in the east and the hills of Kalalbag on the South (Pakistan).

prominent converts of various places to whom and where the Buddha delivered his discourses :

(1) *Viśākhā*—Her father, Dhanañjaya, a gildmaster of Aṅga, was sent by Bimbisāra to Prasenajita and had settled at a place near Śrāvastī in the evening (*Sāyam*). Hence the place of his abode was called Sāketa. Viṣākhā was married to Pūrṇavardhana, the son of Migāra, a wealthy merchant of Śrāvastī. Her father-in-law, Migāra, was the supporter of the naked ascetics who had incited him to forsake her on account of her devotion to the Buddha. Hence he brought charges against her, but they were disproved. She then refused to stay with him unless allowed to continue her faith in the Buddha and ultimately got Migāra converted to Buddhism. This conversion helped Migāra to enjoy the fruit of *Śrotāpanna*, i.e., the winner of the Stream of *Nirvāṇa* and caused him to regard his daughter-in-law, Viśākhā, as mother and thus she was called Viṣākhā Migāra Mātā. She sold her costly neklace and got the monastery of Pūrvārāma built with its sale-proceeds. It is here that the Buddha, when settled permanently at Śrāvastī, passed the rain-seclusions.

The Vinaya recounts how, after entertaining the Buddha and his disciples, Viśākhā asked him for eight boons relating to the privileges of supplying various classes of monks with food, clothing and medicine and of providing the nuns with bathing dresses; for, said she, it shocked her sense of propriety to see them bathing naked.[1]

(2) *Khemā*—She was from Sāgala (Sialkot in the Punjab) and was very proud of her beauty which caused her to be honoured as the chief queen of Bimbisāra. The Buddha made her realise the evanescence of beauty and worldly existence. She joined the Buddhist order.[2]

(3) *Kṛṣāgautamī*—She had the privilege of attracting people by her slim body. It was her utterance that caused the Bodhisattva hurry up his renunciation. Her only son died

1. "Vassika sāṭikaṃ, āgantuka-gamika-gilāna-gilānupaṭṭhāka bhattaṃ, gilāna bhesajjaṃ, dhuvayāguṃ, udakasāṭikaṃ," *MV*, pp. 307-10.
2. *SamN*, Vol. III, p. 321-26.

very young. She happened to meet the Buddha in search of medicine to make her son alive. The Teacher asked her to go into the city and bring mustard seeds from the house where there had been no case of death. No such house could be traced throughout the city. This made her realise the impermanency of earthly life and utter the following at her son's death : "Little son, I thought that death happened to you alone; but it is not to you alone, it is common to all people."

(4) *Āmbapāli*—She was the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī. She is said to have beget Vimala Koṇḍanya (according to Pāli tradition) or Abhaya Rājakumāra (according to Sanskrit tradition), the illegitimate child of King Bimbisāra. She possessed transcendental beauty and was well versed in the art of dance and music : vocal and instrumental. This privileged her to charge an exorbitant fee from those who wanted to take her at their place to enjoy her art. Her presence in the city of Vaiśālī imparted an additional charm to it. This had inspired the mayor of Rājagṛha to procure one such maiden for his own city[1] and thus was Sālavati appointed to rival her.

After hearing that the Buddha was staying at her mango-grove in Vaiśālī, Āmbapālī hurried to invite him and when her invitation was accepted by the Lord, she refused very tempting offers of the Licchavī princes who also had wished to invite him.[2] After entertaining the order of monks with the Buddha as its head to a sumptuous dinner, she donated her Āmravana for their use. The Buddha accepted the donation and instructed her on the impermanence of wealth and beauty and to look upon religion as the best ornament. She is said to have become a nun. We find her utterances in the *Therīgāthā*. Whatever her morals may have been, she was a benefactress of the Order and the Buddha simply gave her the same opportunity as to others of receiving instruction. He, perhaps, did not believe that those who had been doing wrongs would always do wrong and could not be ever mended. Hence he

1. *Civara Khandhaka*, *MV*, p. 286.
2. *MV*, p. 246-47.

always allowed them chances and gave them proper encouragement for amelioration. To women as a class the Buddha gave their due and probably in his own opinion, more than their due. In cases where married women entered the Order it was quite possible for children to be born in the monastery. One such person, who had joined Devadatta's party, when found to be in the family way, was expelled by Devadatta; but she was taken to the Buddha and her chastity was proved. The child, however, was brought up by the king and hence he was known as Kumārakāśyapa.

(5) *Patācāra*—Śariputta is said to have converted this Jain girl as a result of defeating her in a dispute. She is sometimes identified with Ciñcā Māṇavikā who was induced by the heretics to accuse the Buddha of her pregnancy which ultimately proved to be false.

(6) *Pukkusādi*—He was the king of Takṣaśilā[1] in Gāndhāra and a contemporary of king Bimbisāra. He was inspired by the latter to become a Buddhist monk.

(7) *Sunakkhatta*—He was a Licchavī prince of Vaiśālī. He had become the Buddha's personal attendant towards the end of the Lord's life, but abandoned him inasmuch as the Lord disapproved asceticism and denounced miraculous exhibitions.

(8) *Śroṇakotivisa*—He was the son of a very rich banker of Campā. He was so tender that when he walked bare-footed, the earth was marked with blood. He became a monk. The Buddha then felt the necessity to allow the monks to walk with shoes in their feet.

(9) *Mahākappina*—He was a very rich land-owner of the extreme North-Western India and was ordained by the Buddha.

(10) *Soṇakoṭikaṇṇa*—He was a rich lay devotee of Avantī.

(11) *Abhayarājakumāra*—He was the son of Bimbisāra by a courtesan and the foster-father of the famous physician named Jīvaka. He was a supporter of *Nirgranthas*, but became

1. Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

a monk in the Buddhist order when his doubts were solved by the Buddha.

(12) *Sīha*—He was a Licchavī general and follower of *Nirgrantha*; but became highly impressed to hear the Buddha's teachings. He was converted as one of his lay devotees.[1] The Buddha had to impose certain restrictions[2] on meat-eating by monks when he was bitterly criticised by the *Nirgranthas* for taking meat at Sīha's place.[3] Sīha's devotion to the Buddha increased when he saw that the Buddha had allowed him to continue his charities to the *Nirgranthas*. After all, charity had its own moral value irrespective of the caste or creed of its receiver, which the Buddha would have very well realised.

(13) *Saccaka*—He too was a supporter of the *Nirgranthas* and was a teacher of the Licchavīs. He was defeated in a

1. *Sīhasenāpativatthu*, *MV*, pp. 248-53.
2. "Na Bhikkhave manussamaṅsaṃ.....hatthimaṅsaṃ...assamaṅsaṃ... sunakhamaṅsaṃ...ahimaṅsaṃ...sihamaṅsaṃ...taracchāmaṅsaṃ paribhuñjitabbaṃ", *MV*, pp. 235-36.
3. The Buddha, however, allowed taking meat and fish provided it was not seen, heard or suspected that it was intended for the person ("Anujānāmi bhikkhave, tikoṭi parisuddhaṃ maccha-maṅsaṃ—adiṭṭhaṃ asutaṃ aparisaṃkitaṃti", *MV*, p. 253), i.e., only in so far as the partaker was in no way a contributor to killing or giving pain. In *Jīvaka Sutta*, *MN*, Vol. II, pp. 39-40 the Teacher explains to Jīvaka in reply to his question on that issue, that a monk, who practised love (*Mettā*) to all beings, could not deliberately ask for meat. The monk remained always unmindful of what he took as food and so when he was offered meat in his begging round, he might take it if that was not prepared specially for him, nor he had any suspicion of that type. Cf "Imehi tīhi ṭhānehi Jīvaka, maṅsaparibhogānti vadāmi-adiṭṭhaṃ, assutaṃ, aparisaṅkitaṃ...idha bhikkhu...mettāsahagatena cetasā sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ...avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati, tamenaṃ gahapati...bhattena nimanteti...piṇḍapātena parivisati......tassa evaṃ na hoti—sādhu vata māyaṃ gahapti panītena piṇḍapātena parīviseyyāti—evaṃ pissa na hoti. So taṃ piṇḍapātaṃ agathito amucchito anajjhopanno ādīnavadassāvi paribhūñjati...apī nu so...tasmiṃ samaye attavyāvādhāya—paravyāvādhāya...ubhayavyavādhāya vā cetetīti ? Na nu so...bhikkhu tasmiṃ samaye anavajjaṁ yeva āhāraṃ āhāretīti."

controversy with the Buddha[1] and became his follower as his four daughters had joined the order.[2]

(14) *Upāli Gahapati*—He belonged to Nālanda and was one of the great devotees and supporters of the *Nirgranthas*. He was also won over by the Buddha and became devoted to him.[3] He was also allowed to continue his charity to the the *Nirgranthas*. This added to his regard for the Buddha.

(15) *Mahāli*—He was a Licchavī who believed in the existence of soul and body. He was converted after listening to the Buddha's discourses on the Eightfold Path at Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī.

(16-17) *Keniya and Śaila*—They were the two matted-hair ascetics who joined the Buddhist order of monks.[4] The Buddha discoursed with Keniya on the Four Noble Truths. It was after accepting his offer of eight types of fruit drinks that the Buddha allowed the monks to take such drinks under certain conditions.[5]

(18) *Kūṭadanta*—He was a learned Brāhmaṇa teacher of Magadha. King Bimbisāra granted him the income of Khānumata village in order to maintain his academy. He left Brāhmanical sacrifices at the instance of the Buddha.[6]

(19) *Sonadaṇḍa*—He was also a Brahmanical teacher. He belonged to Campā (Aṅga). He too was maintained by the grant of a village which he had received from Bimbisāra. He became a lay disciple of the Buddha who had convinced him of the value of moral virtues rather than birth in determining superiority of a person.[7]

(20) *Brahmāyu*—He was a Brahmin teacher of Mithila.[8] After ascertaining through his pupil named Uttaramāṇava

1. *MN*, Vol. I, pp. 280-90.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *MN*, Vol. II, pp. 46-58.
4. *KhN*, Vol. I, pp. 353-60.
5. *MN*, Vol. II, pp. 396-402
6. *DN*, Vol. I, pp. 108-127
7. *DN*, Vol. I, pp. 97-107.
8. Now called Tirhut.

that the Buddha possessed the thirty-two signs of a great man,[1] he entertained him (the Buddha) and his monks for a week at his house.

(21) *Vakrapāli*—(Pali Vakkali)—He was a Brāhmaṇa of Śrāvastī. He became a Buddhist monk and was checked by the Buddha from committing suicide.

(22) *Bāvarī Brāhmaṇa*—He was the priest of the king of Kośala. He became an ascetic and went to Dakṣināpatha[2] where he dwelt at Asmaka.[3] He sent his disciples, sixteen in number, to meet the Buddha and ask several questions. Those disciples started to the north and crossed Pratiṣṭhāna and thirteen other places to reach Pāṣāṇa Caitya in Magadha.[4]

(23) *Raṭṭhapāla*—He was a Brāhmaṇa of Thullakoṭṭhita in the land of Kurus. He became a monk after listening to the Buddha's discourse.[5]

(24) *Pañcasikha*—He was a Gandharva and as such a good musician. He was a lay devotee of the Lord. He is very popular in the Buddhist texts.[6]

(25) *Jīvaka*—He was the renowned physician of the Buddha's time. He was the son of a Magadhan courtesan named Sālavatī who left him after his birth. Abhaya Rājakumāra, who himself was the son of a courtesan of Ujjainī, became his foster-father and hence the boy was called Jīvakakumāra Bhṛtya. He studied medical science at Takṣaśilā under Ātreya who found him wiser than himself and gave him due recognition.

1. *MN*, Vol. II, pp. 382-393.
2. South of the Ganges and north of the Godāvarī rivers, i.e., the Southern position of the Vindhya mountain called Deccan.
3. Ālaka or Mūlaka (Paithān) on the bank of the river Godāvarī in Dakṣiṇāpatha with its capital Mahissati (Māndhātā).
4. Ujjaina, Gonaddha, Vidiśa, Vanśahvaya, Kauśāmbī, Pāvā Bhoganagara and Vaiśālī—*SN*, Pārāyana Vagga, verses 36-38, KhN, I, p. 422.
5. In the book entitled *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, a Mahāyāna text, the Buddha answers to the queries of Rāṣṭrapāla about the practices leading to the attainment of Bodhi.
6. *DN*, Vol. II, pp. 197-98.

Jivaka was famous for his extraordinary knowledge in medicine, surgery, gynaecology and paediatrics. He was the royal physician of king Bimbisāra as also he attended the Buddhist order of monks. There are many stories in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* which throw sufficient light on his skill in medicine. He became the Buddha's lay follower in the twentieth year of the latter's ministration and dedicated his mango-grove to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* for their use.

Thus, from the above list of his disciples, it is clear that the Buddha uniformly enjoyed the respect and attention of kings and the wealthy classes. Doubtless, he was not so popular with the Brahmins. But his teaching did not provoke any serious tumults, neither was he troubled by anything but schism within the orders about which we will discuss in the subsequent chapter. The *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, which depicts a picture of the Buddha's last days, throws sufficient light as to how the Lord travelled from place to place and was busy in preaching doctrines even while ageing; and this will form the subject-matter of our next chapter.

5

Parinirvana and Distribution of Relics

If we hold with Rhys Davids that the Buddha-legends commenced fifty years after the Lord's decease at Kuśīnārā and that they were preceded by a current 'Gotama-Buddha' tradition in the region where the legends were being made, the most reliable and historical part of the tradition must have been that relating to the end of his career.

Like several other leading *Śramaṇas* in the wanderers' community of the time, the Buddha propounded his *Dhamma* after his lonely meditations at Uruvelā, as also like these *Śramaṇas* he made the public declaration of it in the Deer Park of Banāras. But the Lord's prolonged missionary tours to cities, of which we hear in the legends, must have brought him into limelight of fame towards the close of his long career, when his *Saṃgha* was already established in popular esteem. The passing away of such a famous teacher would be an event long remembered. Winternitz rightly observes that the memory of the latter part of the Master's life and of his last speeches was most firmly impressed on the minds of the disciples of the Buddha and that these have been preserved and handed down with loving fidelity. It was on this living tradition that the legends of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, i.e., Great Passing Away drew largely for the circumstances and incidents. There are several versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, but without any substantial

disagreement, the Pali version is the most complete, consistent and a continuous narrative of the last seven months of the Lord's career. The final redaction, however, in which the account has come down to us, is a conglomeration of legends, a great mosaic of varied materials—episodes, discourses, marvels, myths and miracles, abstracts of the cult and its doctrinal categories—all however, with a single and consistent narrative framework. Winternitz rightly holds that the Suttanta is very probably a late and enlarged version of a very old and much shorter *Parinirvāṇa*. The account of Buddha's last days is contained in three Suttas, viz., *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, *Mahāsudassana Sutta* and *Janavasabha Sutta*, the first among which is the chief one and is known to have existed in several schools telling of his journey from Rājagṛha across the Ganges to Vaiśāli and then to Kuśināra where he passed away.

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* opens with the visit of Varṣakāra, a Brahmin minister, to the Buddha. The latter was then staying at Rājagṛha on the Gṛddhrakūṭa hill. Varṣakāra was directed to do so by Ajātaśatru, the Magadhan emperor, who intended to conquer the Vajjian confederation. The Buddha makes it clear to the minister that as long as the Vajjians act in concord, behave honourably, and respect the Faith, so long may they be expected not to decline but prosper.[1] 'The minister, however, followed the suggestion of the Lord in his (the Buddha's) statement and created dissension among the Vajjians, who were then overpowered by Ajātaśatru,' states the commentary of the book. It is not clear why the Buddha who was a lover of democracy in his *Saṃgha*, would be so unkind as to reveal the secret of the Vajjian confederation before their enemy which led them to ruin. But, as an honest teacher, he must not conceal the truth from an enquirer. It may be suggested that he might have done so also in order to please Ajātaśatru who was friendly

1. Cf "Yăvakīvañca brāhmaṇa, ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā vajjīsuṭhassanti...vuddhiyeva bṛāhmaṇa, vajjīnaṃ, pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānīti," *MPNS*, Aparihāniyā dhammā, *DN*, II, pp. 60-61.

to Devadatta, the Buddha's rival. But the fact of the matter need not be interpreted in this uncharitable way. The Buddha stressed the secrets of the strength of the Vajjis. He did not mean that this would induce the opponents of Vaiśāli to attack them in their vital parts. As the Licchavis formed a confederacy, it was essential that they should maintain concord, harmony and mutual trust. These were the key-stones of their power and prestige. That the minister of Ajātaśatru succeeded in creating dissension, need not be understood to be due to the suggestion of the Buddha. He would have done this even if he had not consulted the Lord. The Buddha was rather non-commital and cannot be charged with partisanship by any stretch of imagination.

Visualizing the end of his earthly career quite close, the Buddha started for Kusīnagara with a view to laying down his mortal remains there. He passed through Āmralaṣtikā, Nālandā, Pāvārikāmravana and reached Pāṭaligrāma (Patna), which was destined to be the new capital of Magadha. Fortifications of the town were being made there at Pāṭaligrāma by Sunīdha and Varṣakāra, the Brāhmaṇa ministers, aganist the attack of the neighbouring enemies. The Buddha along with his monks was entertained there. The gate through which he left Pāṭaligrāma was named *Gautama Dvāra* and the ford by which he crossed the Ganges was called the *Gautama Tīrtha.*

He then went on to Koṭigrāma and Nādikā Giñjakāvasatha where he gave Ānanda the formula of the Mirror of the Doctrine which consisted in baving unwavering faith in the Buddha, the doctrine and the order. Therefrom the Buddha reached Vaiśālī. Here he stayed in the mango-grove of famous courtesan Āmrapāli. He accepted her invitation as also the offer of her mango-grove for the use of the monks and instructed her to realise the impermanence of wealth and beauty. So also he advised the Licchavīs to follow the right path of good conduct instead of external purifications by observing rites and rituals and to subdue pride and lust.

From Āmrapāli mango-grove the Lord went down to the neighbouring village of Beluva where he, along with his companions, had to sojourn for the rainy retreat. There he fell seriously ill, but repressed his sickness, for, he did not like to attain Nirvāṇa without taking leave of the order of monks. Ānanda was happy over the Lord's recovery and said that he had one consolation that the Lord would not enter into *Parinirvāṇa* without determining something about the Order and giving them his last instruction. The Buddha replied as to what more did they expect of him when he had already preached the doctrine without making inner and outer distinctions and therein the Tathāgata had not the closed fist of a traditional teacher whom the order looked upon as a leader who would determine something about the order.[1] He further added that he was then an old man, full of years, reaching his sum of days, turning eighty years, and just as a worn-out cart can be made to move along only with much additional care, so can the body of the *Tathāgata* be kept going only with much additional care. Lastly the *Tathāgata* advised them to seek no refuge but their own and to act and depend upon their own judgement and conviction, relying on *Dhamma* alone.[2]

The next day the Buddha went into Vaiśāli, and on returning to the mound of Cāpāla, he told Ānanda that he could prolong his life to the end of a world-period if he desired it. But Ānanda, seized by Māra, could not pay heed to the hint though repeated by the Lord, and could not entreat the Lord to remain alive. As a result of this the Lord gave words to Māra, the Evil one, in Ānanda's absence that he (the Buddha) would die after three months when he (the Buddha) had completely established the true religion and his monks, nuns and lay devotees were skilled, learned and able to expound; and his religious system became prosperous, extended, held by

1. Cf "Kiṃ panānanda, bhikkusaṅgho mayi paccāsīsati? Desito Ānanda, mayā dhammo ānantaraṃ ābāhiraṃ karitvā. Natthānanda, tathāgatassa dhammesu ācariyamuṭṭhī ti"—*MPnS*, Dutiya Bhāṇavara, *DN*, II, p. 80.
2. "Attadīpā viharatha, attasaraṇā, anaññasaraṇā, dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā", *Ibid*.

many and widely spread. 'All these things had already come to pass' said the Māra. The Buddha then addressed the assembly of monks to say that subject to decay are compound things and hence strive with earnestness.[1] The Lord was charmed with Vaiśāli, so beautiful a city. And so when he had to leave the place for his journey to Kuśīnagara, he cast his last long lingering look like an elephant. In 637 A.D. Hsuan-tsang while visiting the ruins of Vaiśāli, saw a mound supposed to commemorate that last 'elephant look'. The Buddha then went to Bhaṇḍagrāma wherefrom he passed through Hastigrāma, Āmaragrāma and Jambugrāma. He halted at Bhoganagara. There, at the Ānanda mound, he addressed the monks on the four *Mahāpradeśa*, i.e., Great Authorities for testing the Doctrine enumerated as *Dharama*, *Vinaya* and *Mātrika* or *Abhidhamma*, as also he emphasized the observance of *Śīla*, i.e., moral precepts, *Samādhi*, i.e., meditation, *Prajñā*, i.e., acquisition of knowledge and *Vimukti*, i e., attainment of emancipation.

From Bhoganagara the Lord proceeded to *Pāvā* (modern Padraunā village, twelve miles north-east of Kasia in District Deoria and not the modern Pāvāpuri, District Nālanda) and stopped at the mango-grove of Cuṇḍa, the blacksmith who invited him to a dinner and served sweet rice, cakes and *Sūkaramardava*, i.e., a dish which has been variously interpreted as dried boar's flesh or a kind of truffle. This meal caused him dysentry and excruciating pain which he bore patiently and started for Kusīnārā.[2] It was this meal which killed him. But

1. "Handa dāni bhikhave, āmantayāmi vo vaya dhammā saṃkhārā appamādena sampādetha"—Tatiya bhāṇavāra (last) *MPnS*, Pacchimā vācā, *Ibid*, p. 94.
2. The ruins of Kuśīnagara are situated on the bank of the Chhoti Gandaka, near the town of Kasia, 22 miles north-east of Deoria and 34 miles east of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh and locally known as Mahā-Kuār-kā-kot. On excavation was found a brick-chamber accommodating a copper vessel containing charcoal, cowries, a silver coin of Kumargupta I (A.D. 415-455), a copper-plate inscribing *Pratitya-samultpāda-sūtra* in Gupta characters, etc. The excavated monasteries were built and rebuilt at different times, the

before he died he sent word to Cuṇḍa that he need not feel remorse inasmuch as the two most meritorious offerings in the world were the first meal given to the Buddha after enlightenment and the last one given to him just before his death. Thereupon the Lord arrived at the Sāla grove of the Mallas of Kusīnārā after crossing the rivers Kakutha Ghāgī, 1½ miles west of river Chhitiyan in Gorakhpur; or river Bagamati in Nepal) and Hiraṇyavati (Chhoti Gaṇḍak) and lay down on the right side like a lion with one foot upon the other between two Sāla trees. These trees were in full bloom, though it was not the season of its flowering, and heavenly streams and odours filled the air. Ānanda stood leaning against the wall in a *Vihāra* and was weeping at the thought that he was to lose so kind a master. The Buddha sent for him and said, 'Do not weep. Have I not told you before that it is the very nature of things most near and dear to us that we must part from them? All that is born, brought into being and put together carries within itself the necessity of dissolution. How then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? For a long time, Ānanda, you have been very near to me physically and mentally by words of love, kind and good, that never varies and is beyond all measure. You have done well. Be earnest in effort and you too shall soon be free from the great evils of sensuality, individuality and ignorance.'

On Ānanda's call the Mallas visited the dying Buddha. Subhadra, a heretical wanderer, also came. Ānanda tried to repel him. But the Buddha, overhearing the thing, allowed him to enter and converted him. The Lord revealed that the four places, i.e., the places of his birth (Lumbinī), of his Enlightenment (Gayā), of his turning the wheel of the Doctrine (Sāranātha) and of his complete Nirvāṇa (Kuśīnagara) would be the places of pilgrimage worthy to be seen by a faithful

earliest in the Kuṣān period and the latest in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. In spite of the record of Aśoka at Kuśīnagara, nothing that is definitely earlier than the Kuṣān period, has been found in the excavations. The objects of that apoch consist of coins of Kadphises II and Kaniṣka and a fragmentary inscription.

disciple. With regard to women the Buddha advised his monks not to see or to speak to them unless the monks were quite particular and mindful. So also the Lord, on being asked how the burial was to be carried out, said that believing laymen would see that it was to be done like that of a universal king and *Stūpa* was to be erected at the four cross-roads. Several minor rules of discipline were then set forth : the mode in which the younger and elder monks are to be addressed by each other, the permission to abolish some lesser precepts and the infliction of *Brahma* punishment—a kind of social boycott on Channa who was proud of his high birth. Finally, the Buddha asked the assembled monks to speak if anyone had any doubt about the *Buddha*, the *Dharma*, the *Saṁgha* or the *Mārga*. Finding them silent, he uttered that of the five hundred even the latest monk had entered the stream of *Nirvāṇa*. He then attained *Nirvāṇa*. Thus on the full moon day of Vaiśākha ended the fleeting life of a Great Being around Rājagṛha, Vaisālī, Pāvā and Kuśīnagara as an octogenarian preaching pedestrian. It is interesting to note that his birth, enlightenment and death took place on the same day and so also the Lord was born between Sāla tree and died in the similar place, as also his birth was celebrated like that of a prince and his funeral ceremony was held as that of a universal monarch.

No less than six days were passed in preparation for the obsequies. On the seventh day, when the Mallas, considering that the corpse would defile the city, wanted to carry it outside, they found it immovable until they passed with it through the city. So also the funeral pyre could not catch fire so long as Mahākāśyapa, accompanied by five hundred monks, could not attend the ceremony. When he reached there the pyre caught fire of itself and the body was consumed completely, leaving only the bones. Streams of rain extinguished the flames and the Mallas took the bones to their council-hall where they guarded and honoured them properly. The veneration of Buddha's relics, contained in the Piprāvā vase, is a proof that we are dealing with a man rather than a

legend inasmuch as the relics were venerated by Emperor Aśoka two hundred and fifty years after his death and is still venerated by the people.

Six persons of the Kṣatriya community and one of Brāhmaṇa sent requests for a portion of the relics, saying that they would erect a *Stūpa* over them and hold a feast. They were king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Licchavīs of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas of Kapilvastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma (Rampura Deoria in District Basti) the Mallas of Pāvā and the Brahmaṇa of Veṣṭhadvipa. The Malls at first refused but Brāhmaṇa, called Droṇa, advised them not to quarrel over the remains of him who taught *Mettā*, i.e., friendliness all the life. So he divided the relics into eight parts : one for each of the above stated seven persons and the remaining one for Kusīnagara. The Mauryas of Pipphalivana, who came late, had to be satisfied with the embers of the pyre. Then eight *Stūpas* were built from the relics in the towns mentioned above and one over the embers and the last one by Droṇa over the iron vessel containing the Buddha's remains.

Thus ended the career of a man who was undoubtedly one of the greatest intellectual and moral forces that the world has ever seen. But it is hard to arrive at any certain opinion as to the details of his character and abilities, for in the later accounts he is deified and in the Piṭakas, though veneration has not gone so far as this, he is ecclesiasticized and the human side is neglected. However, we would try to sum up his personality as a man considering his daily life, his behaviour with laity-monks-nuns-and women, the style of his preaching, his attitude to rules and regulations and his democratic tendency and dictatorship which will form the subject-matter of our subsequent chapter.

6

Personality of the Buddha

Section I

Vinaya Rules and the Buddha

Buddha's religion being primarily concerned with the monks, it becomes imperative to discuss the *Vinaya* rules prescribed by him for the guidance of the daily life of the monks and this will facilitate the the understanding of the Lord's personality.

The object of *Vinaya* narrative is to state the occasion on which the Buddha laid down the rules for the Order. Irrelevant incidents are ignored and those which are noticed are regarded simply as the circumstances which led to the formation of certain regulations. In one passage of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* the Buddha says that just like a landowner, who having three fields—one excellent, the other middling and the third of poor soil, sows first the good field, then the middling and last of all the bad field just producing fodder for the cattle, so also the Buddha first preaches to his monks, then to lay believers and lastly to Brāhmaṇas, ascetics and wandering monks of other sects thinking if they only understood one word, it would do them good for a long while. It was to such congregations of disciples or to enquirers belonging to other religious order that he addressed his important discourses, iterating the truths concerning the reality of sorrow and the equal reality of salvation. He did not start by laying down any constitution for

his order. Rules were formed entirely by case-laws. Each incident and difficulty was referred to him as it arose and his decision was accepted as the law on that point. During his last illness he showed a noble anxiety not to hamper his followers by the prestige of his name but to leave behind him a body of free men, able to be their own light and a help to themselves. We know that the Buddha declined to make *Dhutangas*, i.e., more ascetic form of life, obligatory. *Dhutangas* are the stricter form of the ordinary rules about food and dress and they refer also to the life of a hermit living in the woods or in a cemetery. In *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* there is a large collection of chronological regulations purporting to be issued by the Buddha for the guidance of the order on such subjects as ceremonies, discipline, clothes, food, furniture and medicine. As disciples multiplied, the need for regulations and uniformity of life was felt. Each incident or difficulty that arose was reported to him and he defined the correct practice.

In the time of the Buddha wandering life was a reality but later most monks became residents in monasteries. The *Saṃgha* exercised no hierarchical authority over the monks and they accepted such simple symbols of union as the observance of *Uposatha* days. Strictly speaking a monk does not beg for food nor thank for what he receives. He gives the lay man a chance of doing a good deed and the donor, not the recipient, should be thankful. Ordinations of the novitiate is granted by a chapter (*Saṃgha*) consisting of at least ten members. *Pabbajjā* is effected when the would-be novice, duly sworn and robed in yellow, recites the three refuges and the ten precepts if abstinence from intentional killing, stealing, impurity, lying, intoxicants, untimely eating, dancing-music-theatres, garlands-perfumes or ornaments, high and large beds and accepting gold and silver. Full membership is obtained by the further ceremony called *Upasampadā* at the age of at least twenty, after examining if the recipient is *sui juris* and has no disqualifying disease or other impediment. The recipient is then introduced to the chapter (*Saṃgha*) by a learned and competent monk who asks thrice to those who are in favour of his admission to signify the same by their silence and those who are

not, to speak. The newly admitted *Bhikkhu* must have an *Upādhyāya* or preceptor on whom he waits as a servant seeing to his clothes, bath, bed, et cetera. In return the preceptor gives him spiritual instruction, supervises his conduct and tends him when sick.

The *Saṃgha* or chapter empowered to accept new monks and regulate discipline consisted of the monks inhabiting a paris or district, whose extent was fixed by the *Samgha* itself. *Bhikkus* resident in a parish must assemble on *Uposatha* days, i.e., on the days of the new moon, full moon and the eighth days from the new and full moon. In Tibet, however, the fourteenth, and fifteenth, twenty-ninth and thirtieth of each month are observed. The initiative of this observance came from Bimbisāra on the lines of the other schools. Monks recite *Pātimokkha* on the occasion of *Uposatha* when a list of offences is read out and the brethren are asked thrice if they are pure in the matters. If a monk has to confess a thing, he speaks, otherwise he is silent. The offender may be rebuked, suspended or expelled by the assembly. But he must admit his guilt, otherwise disciplinary measures are prescribed. The personal possessions allowed to a monk are : three robes, a girdle, an alms bowl, a razor, a needle and a water-container. Everything else, which he receives from his laity is to be handed over to the confraternity and held in common. During nine months the monks might wander about, live in the woods or reside in a monastery. The remaining three months of rainy season when movement was rendered difficult, residence in a monastery was obligatory. The end of the rain was marked by *Pavāranā* ceremony at which monks asked one another to pardon any offences that might have been committed and immediately after it came *Kathina* ceremony of distribution of robes received from the laity. The regulations concerned exclusively with matters of daily life, dwelling, furniture, medicine and so forth. The absence of worship or cults is remarkable.

Those who follow the law of the Buddha but are not members of the *Samgha* are called *Upāsakas* (or feminine *Upāsikās*, i.e., adherents). The monks have joined a confraternity in order to lead a higher life for which ordinary society has no

place. In some cases elementary education is in the hands of the monks and their monasteries serve the purpose of schools. Gautama accorded to the laity a definite and honourable position and in the *Piṭakas* they notify their conversation by a special formula of taking refuge in the *Buddha, Dhamma* and *Saṃgha*. They cannot indeed lead the perfect life but they can insure birth in happy states and even attain *Nirvāṇa*. In the precepts laid down for lay men ceremony and dectrine have hardly any place, but good conduct and morality, moderation in pleasures and consideration for others, are enjoined in it. The five abstinences : from taking life, from intoxicants, from lying, from stealing and from fornication are essential for lay men. It is meritorious to add the other three precepts at least on *Uposatha* days : (a) abstinence from using garlands or perfumes, (b) sleeping on a mast spread on the ground and (c) not to eat after mid-day. Almsgiving, religious conversation and hearing the law are commended but emphasis is laid on such social virtues as pleasant speech, kindness, temperance, consideration for others and affection. The rules were adopted by different schools.

We would now like to discuss the different aspects of the Lord's personality.

Section II

Daily Life : Behaviour with Monks, Nuns and the Laity : Way of Preaching : Attitude to Rules and Regulations, Democratic Tendency and Dictatorship :

The *Piṭakas* set before us the teacher as well as his teaching but they speak of his doings and historical surroundings only in order to provide a proper frame for the law which he preached, still in the narratives there are touches of human interest which seem authentic.

Buddhaghosa gives an account of the manner in which Gautama spent each day. The Lord rose before dawn and remained alone in meditation till it was time to go on his round for alms or devoted the time in moving with the monks

accompanying him from one place to another at a distance of about ten miles. While walking he might talk to them. He was very often invited by the laity for the principal meal of the day; otherwise he went on the begging round and collected meal from door to door. He took but one meal a day and that also before twelve a.m. When invited, after finishing the meal, he would give thanks in the form of a talk on one or other of the more elementary points of religion. On the other hand, he exhorted the monks on one of the deeper matters of faith after coming back from the begging rounds. He spent the afternoon in meditation. As the afternoon drew in, either the journey to the next stage was resumed, or if the stay in the same place was to be prolonged, an informal reception was held under the tree. The villagers would visit to listen to his discussion started by a layman or a recluse of some other order putting questions before the Buddha. By sun-down the assembly was dispersed. Then the Buddha, should he feel so inclined, was wont to take his bath, after which he would talk with the disciples, perhaps far into the night. He usually halted in woods, gardens or on the bank of a river and often in the travellers' rest-house.

For forty-five years after enlightenment, the Buddha went up and down through the plains of Northern India and the neighbouring high-lands of Nepal to work out his system, and to instruct the disciples in its details on the most essential points like the *Tilakkhana* or the Three Signs, the Four Truths, the Five *Nirvāṇas* or Hindrances, the Eight-fold Path, the Constituents of *Arahatship*, and so on.

When we look to the Buddha's treatment of individuals, we find him to be very affectionate, sympathetic and kind. He cared not only for the organisation of the Order but for its individual members also. We have already seen how, while Ānanda—still a *Śaikṣa* or learner of Arahatship was weeping over the impending separation from so kind a master, the Buddha reminds him of his instruction that, it is the nature of things most near and dear to part with and hence it was impossible that such a being should not be dissolved. The Lord then praises his immeasurable love and kindness to him

and appreciating his attainment, he encourages him to be earnest in effort for attaining *Arahathood*. When the Buddha felt that some of his disciples needed a particular form of instruction, he gave it to them. He did not fail to provide for the comfort of the sick and weary. In the *Theragāthā*, Panthaka relates how, when he was driven from his house, the Buddha stroked his head and taking him by the arm laid him into the monastery and out of kindness he gave him a towel for his feet. So also the *Mahāvagga* relates how the Buddha served the Śrāvastī-monk named Tissa who was suffering from a malignant skin disease and discoursed on the mutual duties of the monks, who had no mother or father to take care of them. The *Therigāthā*[1] relates how the women were crazy at the loss of their children but found complete comfort and peace in the Buddha's teaching. Sometimes we are told that when persons whom he wished to convert proved refractory, the Buddha suffused them with the feeling of his love until they yielded to his influences.[2]

Regarding Buddha's treatment of women we have already talked in the chapter preceding the last with reference to Mahāprajāpati Gotami's ordination and Āmrapāli's conversion. The Buddha's reluctance in the beginning to include female members in his *Saṃgha* was probably not due to a low estimate of their ability, for he recognised and made use of the influence of women in social and domestic life and he admitted that they were as capable as men of attaining the highest stages of intellectual and spiritual progress. He did not like that women be ill-treated in the society. In the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, he, comparing the wife as the western direction, has said that the husband should give proper honour to the wife as also he should bestow wealth and ornaments on her, and only then he should expect all efficiency from her in domestic affairs which are properly managed only by the wife if she is

1. *KhN*, II, 418, (*ThG*. verse 98).

2. e.g., the Malla in the *MV*, p. 261.

well-pleased.[1] Of course, the Buddha did not feel any interest in women as individuals.

There is nothing to show that the Buddha tried to abolish caste as a social institution. There was no reason why he should do so in so far as his teaching envisaged that the true Brahmin was the virtuous Brahmin. But within the order caste did disappear and many low-caste persons were admitted as monks. A monk is to be respected by the laity irrespective of his caste, but a monk is required to pay a respectful visit to the laity if the former intended to learn a *Sutta* from that lay disciple who knew it perfectly well.[2] According to the Buddha moral action is higher than even a bloodless sacrifice, and still higher is the Noble Path. The worship of the six quarters is not wrong, but should be done by fulfilling the moral duties towards six classes of fellow-creatures as detailed in the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, which is perhaps the only *Sutta* preached by the Buddha specially for the laity. In the Buddha's view, as we have already stated in the previous chapter, householder's life was congested and full of impurities of attachment and ill-will, whereas a monk's was like the open sky for leading a holy life in which the monk pervaded the world with unconditional benevolence, compassion for the unhappy, cheerfulness in others' prosperity and pleasure, and equanimity (*Mettā*, *Karuṇā*, *Muditā* and *Upekkhā*, i.e., the four *Brahma Vihāras*).

The pleasant quality of the Buddha's voice is often mentioned but in somewhat conventional terms. His calm and bright expression and his unruffled courtesy in discussion, his eloquence are marked in the *Piṭakas*.[3] Repetitions for easy memorising in the absence of writing tradition and sub-divisions of arrangement, though often tiresome, show traces of another style which suggests a terse and racy preacher going

1 Cf *Manu Samhitā* :
"Yatra ¦nāñstu pūjyante, Sarbā tatra saphalā rKiyā
Yafra narī na pūjyante, Sarbā tatra aphalā Kriyā."

2. *MV*, p. 147.

3. e.g. *MN*, p. 36.

straight to the point and driving home his meaning with homely instances. We have already seen how the Buddha consoled Kisāgotamī and convinced her of the impermanence of earthly life when she could not find mustard seeds from a house where none had died by that time. Humour often peeps through the Buddha's preaching. When the Buddha was pressed to say what would be the next birth of the naked ascetics who imitated in all things the ways of a dog and a cow in the hope of obtaining salvation, the Lord opined that if their penance was successful they would be reborn as dogs and cows, if unsuccessful, in hell. Irony and modesty are combined in his rejection of extravagant praise. When Sāriputra in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta* said "Such faith have I, Lord, that there never has been, nor will be, nor is any other greater or wiser than the Blessed one," the Buddha asked if Sāriputra had known all the Buddhas of the past, or if he would know of the future ones, or at least he knows him and had penetrated his mind thoroughly. To all these questions Sāriputra replied in the negative who was thus ashamed of the suggested flattery in his exaggerated statement. The Buddha personally aided with advice and encouragement all who came to him. Even Ajātaśatru, who had been friendly to the Buddha's rival Devadatta and dead opposed to the Buddha, was given proper advice and encouragement when he visited him as detailed in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

Buddha's teachings have been classified into (1) three *Piṭakas* or baskets which is the most popular classification and consists of : (a) *Vinaya*,[1] i.e., the rules of conduct for the monks, (b) *Sutta*,[2] i.e., the doctrinal teachings of the Lord in

1. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* has been divided into *Sutta Vibhaṅga*, *Khandhaka* and *Parivāra*. *Sutta Vibhaṅga* has been subdivided into *Pārājika* and *Pācittya*. So also *Khandhaka* has been sub-divided into *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*.

2. *Sutta Piṭaka* consists of the five *Nikāyas* or collections of *Suttas* according to their size, viz., *Dīgha*, *Majjhima Saṃyutta*, *Aṅguttara* and *Khuddaka*. *Khuddaka Nikāya* is a collection of fifteen long and short books, viz., *Khuddakpāṭha*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivut-*

the form of dialouges for the common people, and (c) *Abhidhamma*,[1] i.e., the Buddha's teachings in highly scholarly and philosophical language; (2) five *Nikāyas* consisting of the collection of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, i.e., the long sized dialouges, the *Majjhima Nikāya* of middle sized dialogues, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* of mixed sized *Suttas*, the *Anguttara Nikāya* of gradual sayings and the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, i.e., the collection of the fifteen long and short books, besides all the books of *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*; (3) Nine *Aṅgas* of : *Sutta* (discourse), *Geyya* (prose and verse), *Veyyākaraṇa* (analysis), *Gāthā* (verse), *Udāna* (fervent utterances), *Itivuttaka* (passages beginning, 'thus it was said'), *Jātaka* (Buddha's previous birth-storeis), *Abbhutadhamma* (marvellous events) and *Vedalla* (a term applied to certain *suttas*); and lastly into (4) eighty-four thousand *Dharma Skandhas* analysing the phenomena in various ways.

The Buddha's character and the substance of his teachings were admirably suited to the needs of the religious world of India of the day. Judged by the needs of other temperaments, which are entitled to neither more nor less consideration, they seem too severe, too philosophic and the later varieties of Buddhism have endeavoured to make them congenial to less strenuous natures. Disciples gather round the master and as their numbers increase, he makes a few salutary regulations. The result we find to be an organisation which becomes one of the great forces of the world. Contemporary opinion in India criticized his discipline as easy-going and lax. We frequently hear in the Vinaya that the people murmured and said that his disciples behaved like those who still enjoyed the good things of the world. Some, we are told, tried to enter the Order merely to secure a comfortable existence[2]. But

taka, Suttanipāta, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therigāthā, Jātaka, Niddesa (Cūla Niddesa and *Mahā Niddesa), Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyā Piṭaka.*

1. *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* consists of seven books, viz., *Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukatha, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna.*
2. *MV*, pp. 80-81.

we see that the Buddha prescribes the single meal a day for his monks and says that a man who, even if he is being cut by a saw, does not cherish ill-will against the murderer, is truly to be called my disciple-monk. It is true that what the Buddha thought necessary, is emanicipation of heart and mind and the cultivation of love and knowledge, all else being a matter of indifference. Thus he says to the ascetic, Kāśyapa[1] that though a man performs all manners of penances, yet if he has not attained the bliss which comes of good conduct, a good heart of unlimited love and good mind destroying ill-will, anger and lust, he is far from being a monk. He further adds that it is hard to lead the life of a monk, whereas asceticism is comparatively easy; what is really hard is the conversion and emancipation of the heart. This is why he does not attach undue importance to rules and regulations. Accordingly we find that the Buddha allows wearing of shoes to the monks when he sees *Śroṇakoṭivisa's* feet bleeding while moving bare-footed and advises the monks to abandon the minor rules according to the place and time[2] after his death, as also he opposes Devadatta's suggestion for severity of his discipline to be made compulsory. He is at any rate anxious that they should not degenerate into excesses. Thus he forbids[3] the monks to spend the rains under a hallowed tree, or in a cemetery or to use skullbowl for alms.

However, he was sensitive to public opinion[4] or the opinion of a single person as in case of Viśākha complaining against the naked bath of the monks and nuns. He was anxious to conform to it when conformity involved no sacrifice of principle. But the Lord gave due importance to manners, etiquette and decency. Unlike Ājīvakas and Jains and some other sectaries Buddhist monks had to be completely clad and to receive food

1. *DN*, I, pp. 138-49.
2. "Ākankhamāno saṃgho mama accayena khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni samūhanatu"—*MPnS*, Pacchimā vācā, *DN* II, p. 118.
3. *MV*, p. 159.
4. *Ibid*, "Asuci, bhanti, naggiyaṃ jegucchaṃ paṭikulaṃ", p. 308, "asuci mātugamassa naggiyaṃ", p. 309.

in the begging-bowl and not in their hands. The robes of the monks were made of rags collected and sewed together, but it soon became the practice for pious laymen to supply the order with raiment. If the Buddha found the monks engaged in conversation, he waited at the door till there was a pause in the talk. Then he coughed and knocked. The monks opened the door and offered him a seat. If a monk had to ask a question, he would rise, adjust his robe, so as to leave one shoulder bare, bow with his hands folded, and the Lord would ask him to be seated and say what he wanted. But sometimes in these nightly congregation the silence was unbroken. When king Ajātástru visited the Lord in Jīvakāmravana, he was seized with sudden fear at the unearthly stillness of the place and suspected an ambush.[1]

Though the Buddha refused to multiply observances or to dogmatise, every *Sutta* indicates that he was a man of exceptional authority and decision; what he has laid down he has laid down; there is no compulsion or punishment, no vow of obedience or *sacrificium intellectus;* but it is equally clear that there is no place in the Order for those, who, great or small, think differently from the Master. The Buddha did not recognise rank other than simple seniority or the relation to pupil. In the *Saṁgha* no monk could give orders to another; he, who disobeyed the precepts of the order; ceased to be a member of it either *ipso facto*, or if he refused to comply, with the expiation prescribed. There was no compulsion, no suppression of discussion, neither any delegation of power. The proposal of resolution was adopted after expression of opinions signified by silence till three hearings. Differences of opinions in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* have largely taken the shape of schools of thought rather than of separate and polemical sects. Dissension indeed has not been absent, but not on the caste or provincial lines of today. Sir Charles Eliot scents caste feeling in Anuruddha and Ānanda along with four other young Śākya nobles and Upāli forming an inner circle of trusted relatives, though there was no friction

1. *DN*, Sanditthika Sāmaññaphalaṃ, p. 43 (Athakorañño...bha aṃ... lomahaṃso......).

between them and a Brāhmaṇa like Sāriputra. Eliot further adds that it is not easy to say what Upāli's social status may have been. It is true that the Buddha delivers his last instruction to Ānanda who is attending him in his death-bed and also that the Lord's pyre does not catch fire till Anuruddha reaches there. But then Sāriputra, as we have already mentioned in course of his ordination, enjoyed the Lord's confidence so fully that he acted as his representative. The Buddha compares him even to the eldest son of an Emperor who assists his father in the Government. So also Upāli contributes materially to the codification of the *Vinaya* and enjoys the status of being the *Vinaya*-specialist.

The troubles which arose in the *Saṃgha* are often ascribed in *Vinaya* to the *Chabbaggiyas* or the six brethren who became celebrated in tradition as spirits of mischief and who are evidently made the peg on which these old monkish anecdotes are hung. As a rule the intervention of the Buddha was sufficient to restore peace. The brethren quarrelled so often that the people said it was public scandal. The Buddha endeavoured to calm the disputants, but one of them asserted that the responsibility for those quarrels would rest with them alone and the Blessed One should quietly enjoy the bliss which he had obtained in this life. In other words they asked him to mind his own business which caused the Lord to go away. The most serious was the schism of Devadatta advocating a stricter rule of life when the Buddha was seventy. This Devadatta had his separate following and sect even afterwards, says Fa-Hsien. Thus we see that the seeds of the emergence of different Buddha sects were spread even during the life-time of the Lord and as a result of this we find as many as eighteen Buddhist sects during the period of the Third Buddhist Council.

After discussing the personality of the Buddha in the light of his life and activities it becomes imperative in this treatise to deal with the theological phase of Buddhism which began in the First Buddhist Council held at the instance of his sincere and serious disciples shortly after his death and afterwards resulted in the emergence of different schools according to the views they held about the Lord's teachings. This will form the subject-matter of our discussion in the subsequent chapter.

7

First Two Councils and Emergence of Different Schools

First Council

The theological phase of Buddhism begins after the passing away of its founder long before the reign of Aśoka. We hear of two (or including Mahāsangīti three) councils; scriptures, obviously containing various strata, were compiled and eighteen sects or schools had time to arise till it became an international religion. Much doubt has been cast upon the councils but this suspicion is unmerited, provided that too ecclesiastical a meaning is not attached to the word.

The details of the First Buddhist Council of Rājagṛha reciting the Dhamma and the Vinaya shortly after the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*. i.e., the Great Demise are found in the *Cullavagga* of the Canon, in the *Sāmantapāsādikā*, i.e., commentary of the Vinaya canon, in the *Mahāvastu*, in the *Dipavaṃsa* in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and in the Tibetan *Dulva*. Differences there are, no doubt, on certain points, but they are not fundamental. Still much controversy has arisen among the historians regarding the time, place, causes, participants and the parts played by them, and the proceedings of the meeting.

We are told that only a week[1] after the passing away of the Master, one Subhadra, who had become a monk in his

1. Cf verse VI, *MVam*, First Council.

old age, asked the monks not to grieve over the occasion which provided them freedom[1] from Buddha's authority restraining their actions in every walk of life; and that in order to obviate the dangerous effects of such unseemly and disappointing remarks a meeting of five hundred selected brethren rehearsing the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*[2] was held at Rājagṛha during the rainy retreat in which the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were fixed and proceedings were drawn againts Ānanda and Channa.

The account of this meeting and of the subsequent meeting at Vaiśālī is recorded in Chapters XI and XII of the *Cullavagga*, which must therefore be later than the second meeting. The *Samantapāsādikā* provides a detailed description of the ceremonies which took place about six weeks before the actual opening of the synod. The *Mahavaṃsa* states that the first month of the rains was spent in repairing delapidations of dwellings by monks and in the construction of the meeting-hall by king Ajātaśatru[3]. The session started in the second month, i.e., in Srāvaṇa and lasted for seven months. Winternitz doubts if the meeting establishing the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* consisting of the *Tripiṭaka* of today could be held soon after Buddha's death. So also Minayef doubts whether the rehearsal of the canon as we have today could be included in the proceedings of that meeting. But I am inclined to conjecture that nothing more important could have been the business of the monks than to recollect the teachings of their Master immediately after his death. Only the other day when Dr. Lohia died, the members of the Saṃyukta Socialist Party of India assembled and recapitulating his creed they took a vow to abide by that, as also they proposed a book containing his utterances to be published as a mark of his memory. we know that the monks were advised to depend upon themselves and rely upon nothing else but the *Dhamma*, which also was all oral. So also we know that he left to the order

1. Cf "Alaṃ āvuso, mā socittha...upadduta ca homa...idānipana...karsissāma," *MPNS*, 6th Bhaṇavāra, *DN*, II, p. 121.
2. *CV*, Chapter XI, Pañcasatikā Dhammasangiti, pp. 406-13.
3. *MVam*, First Council, verses 16-19.

the authority to abolish all the minor precepts, for which he did not provide any measure to test if a precept was minor. It was therefore the dire necessity that some sort of meeting should have been held to settle the authentic version of the founder's teaching in order to avoid future confusion and pollution likely to creep up owing to the wrong interpretation of the latitude by some of the evil minded monks like the *Chavaggians*, the *Devadattans* and the like who had been creating problems even during the life-time of the Master himself. While the Master was alive he decided all questions of dogma and discipline himself, but after his demise it was only the collective decision of the order which could come to their rescue more so when there was no particular person then to exercise his personal authority over an issue. Hence it was quite natural for the sincere disciples of the Lord that they should think it their foremost duty to convene a meeting and fix the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*[1] in favour of the future safety and preservation of purity of the *Dhamma*[2] preached by the Lord which would serve their purpose of *Mahāpradeśa*[3] in order to determine the correctness of a thing whether it was quite in accordance with what the Buddha had taught.

The Buddhist tradition holds that the *Vinaya* was fixed with the assistance of Upāli and the *Dhamma* with that of Ānanda. Rockhill and Yuan Chwang add the recital of *Abhidharma* or *Mātrikās* by Kāśyapa; but this is not mentioned in the *Cullavagga* nor in the *Dipavaṃsa*. Buddhaghoṣa, however, includes Abhidhamma along with Sutta which jointly mean *Dhamma* in his opinion. But, the fifth book of *Abhidhamma*, viz., *Kathavatthu*, is said to have been compiled by Moggaliputta, in the Third Council during the reign of Aśoka who is a historical king[4]. Hence, *Abhidhamma*, including

1. "Dhammañca Vinayañca sangāyeyyāma"—*CV*, Chapter XI, p. 406.
2. "Icchanto...satthudhammaciratṭhitiṃ", "sukkapakkhaṭṭhitatthikā", *MVam*, Verses V and XIV.
3. Cattāro Mahāpadesā, *MPNS*, *DN*, II, pp. 96-98.
4. Buddhaghoṣa, however, makes an attempt to impose his opinion by saying that the outlines of that book also were given by the Buddha

the *Kathāvatthu* as we have it today, cannot form a part of the canon adopted in the First Council. So also it does not appeal to the reason that the present-day *Vinaya*, declaring *Dasavatthūni*,[1] i.e., the ten points to be unlawful, was already settled in the First Synod and still there was a great controversy on those points leading to the convention of the Second Council. Even regarding the *Dhamma*, i.e., the Sutta including the *Therāgāthā*[2] and some other books of *Khuddaka Nikāya*, it is remarkable that they refer to some persons and events of the period of Emperor Aśoka and hence cannot be expected to have been completed in the First Council. It may, however, be concluded that the Arhatas reciting the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* in the First Council possessed some sort of *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Mātikās*[3], on the basis of which the present-day *Tripiṭaka* has been gradually developed by different *Sthaviras* i.e.. the elderly monks in the three Councils held from time to time up to the time of Aśoka. It may further be noted that one Porāṇa monk refused to participate in the First Council and said that the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* though well rehearsed by the *Sthaviras* (elderly monks) would not profit him if accepted. His statement, however, does not challenge the authenticity of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* rehearsed in the First Council.

himself while preaching the *Abhidhamma* to his mother in the heaven and then to Sāriputra, who taught the same to five hundred monks ; and that the *Abhidhamma* thus preached was rehearsed in the first two councils and again in the third, in which Moggaliputta Tissa simply enlarged that *Kathāvatthu* included in the Abhidhamma. —Vide the *Atthasālinī Nidānakathā*. But the critical and scientific study of today is not ready to accept such orthodox interpretation.

1. *CV*, Chapter XII, p. 416, paragraph I.
2. Cf, *ThraG*, verses 169-70, relating to Vītaśoka, the younger brother of Aśoka and *KhN* II, pp. 243, 256 and 260 relating to Aśoka's younger brother Tissa Kumāra.
3. According to the Sarvāstivāda, Ārya Mahākāśyapa recited the *Mātrikās* which were later on developed into *Abhidharma*. The first book of the *Abhidharma* also begins with a *Mātrikā*. Revata, the president of the Second Council, is said to be a man who knew the *Āgamas*, the *Dharma*, the *Vinaya* and the *Mātrikās*. This points to a previous collection of the *Abhidhamma*.

After all, why should the introvert monk like Porāṇa bother for the Buddha's precepts of general use when he had his individual needs duly fulfilled directly from the mouth of the founder himself[1]?

As to the place of this Council, it may be noted that, though Aśvaghoṣa's account mentions Gṛddhrakūta mountain and Lokottaravāda, as also the Pali chronicle record Saptaparṇī cave of the mountain Vaibhāra as its venue, there is no dispute about the fact that it is at Rājagṛha that the First Council met. It is also mentioned in the *Dulva* and duly supported by the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* that Rājagṛha was selected because king Ajātaśatru was a firm believer in the Buddhist faith and that he would therefore make ample provision for food and lodging. But the *Cullavagga* does not mention Ajātaśatru's name and so also we know that he had combined with Devadatta in the latter's plot for the murder of the Buddha. In the *Sandiṭṭhika Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, however, he has been represented as taking the *Tathāgata's* refuge. Anyway, it may be asserted that even though the king did not accept Buddhism as his religious faith, it was not strange and unbelievable that he, as the king of the country, would make provisions for holding the meeting, which was to be held in his capital town. His move may be called diplomatic in the sense that he gained the goodwill of the Buddha's monks thereby.

Besides Subhadra's incident, the *Mahāvaṃsa* adds some other causes leading to the convocation of First Council. It states that Mahākāśyapa deemed it his foremost duty to convene the council thinking that the Master had given him his own garment and had thereby made him equal with himself,[2] as also that the Sage has commanded the establishing of the holy truth, and lastly, that the Sambuddha's consent existed to make a compilation of the holy Dharma.[3] The

1. *CV*, Chapter XI, p. 412 ("Susaṅgītāvuso...dhammoca vinayo... bhagavato sammukhā sutam...tāthevāhaṃ dhāremi").
2. *SamN*, II, p. 163ff. (Kassasaṃyutta) and the *MVam* verses 5-8.
3. *Ibid.*

Tibetan *Dulva* and also the account of Yuan Chwan refer to the general feeling of doubt and dismay then prevailing among the people that the Dharma preached by the Lord would disappear along with his departure. But the *Dīpavaṃsa* does not mention Subhadra's incident, which the *Cullavagga* states as the main cause leading to the convocation of the First Council. On the other hand, in the *Mahāparinibbāna* Sutta there is no allusion to this Council, though Subhadra's incident is stated therein. Oldenberg is sceptical about this Council on the same ground. But the aim of the *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta* is not to trace the history of the order which is the subject matter of the Vinaya. The purpose of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is just to depict the last days of the Buddha, his death-scene, and the fate of his relics, and not beyond that. Hence Subhadra's utterances[1] denouncing the mourning of the monks over the Master's departure which brought them freedom are rightly placed there, but the effect of his damaging remarks concerned the discipline of the order affecting its history and hence the same has been included in the *Vinaya*. Thus Oldenberg's doubt about the holding of the First Council does not carry much weight heavier than *argumentum ex silentio*.

Regarding the participants, the *Cullavagga* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* mention that the number of monks was decided in pursuance of a vote by the general body of monks assembled on the occasion and at the place of *Parinirvāṇa*, i.e., the death of the Lord. The *Cullavagga* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* state the number to be five hundred Arhatas including Ānanda, who though a *Śaikṣa*, i.e., learner of Arhatship then, also attained Arhathood no sooner than some of the participants looked for him in the meeting. Yuan Chwang, however, makes out the number as one thousand which may be an exaggeration caused due to the interval between the event

1. This Subhadra was a barber of the village Ātumā and was different from the last direct convert of the Buddha. The last convert was a Brāhmaṇa. Professor Oldenberg identifies the two Subhadras which is wrong—*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 184 (foot-note).

and his time. There was considerable resentment on the issue of Ānanda's inclusion as a *Śaikṣa*. But his presence was inevitable inasmuch as he had the closest association of the Master for a pretty long period as his personal attendant and he was the fittest man to give the authentic version of the Lord's teaching which had to be rehearsed in this council. According to the *Cullavagga* the entire business of this meeting was conducted by Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda and Upāli; but according to *Dīpavaṃsa* the other monks also contributed sufficiently. This, however, does not make any fundamental difference. The three monks might have played the main part and the others assisted them. The *Mahāvastu* states that Kātyāyana was the chief exponent and the subject of discussion was *Dasdbhūmi*. But this book, however, belongs to the *Lokottaravādins*, a sect which came into existence long after the *Mahāsāṅghikas* had brought about the schism in the Church. Regarding the procedure followed in that council it is said that Kāśyapa, on the motion of the assembly, first put questions on the *Vinaya*, asking Upāli where a particular rule was promulgated, concerning whom, the subject of it, and other details, and so on throughout the *Vinaya*. In the same way Ānanda was questioned about each *Sutta* of the *Dhamma*. The two persons gave appropriate answers which were duly approved by the whole council of monks.

Though Ānanda had attained Arahathood just before appearing at his seat in the meeting, several charges were levelled against him in spite of the convention that Arahathood emancipated one from all guilt and punishment. Ānanda, however, explained them as follows :—

(a) Overwhelmed with grief as he was due to the impending Great Demise of the Lord, he could not request him to point out as to how a precept called minor, which might be left out, should be tested.

(b) He had to step on the Lord's robe while sewing it all alone without any helper.

(c) He made the body of the departed Master to be saluted first by women so that it was not soiled by their tears if detained.

(d) He forgot to beseech the Lord to remain for a cycle inasmuch as he was possessed by Māra, the evil.

(e) Out of consideration for Mahāprajāpati Gautamī, the foster-mother of the Lord, he advocated the cause of admission of women into the order.

(f) Water of the river being muddy, caused him to fail in supplying drinking-water to the Buddha who demanded it thrice and lastly.

(g) the exhibition of the privy parts of the Master would rid those men and women of low character of their sensuality.

Divergent opinions were expressed as to the extent of the discretion allowed in the minor precepts and ultimately the *Saṃgha* adopted without alteration or addition the rules made by the Buddha.

According to the *Cullavagga* the trial of Ānanda took place after the main business of the council, i.e., the recitation of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* ; whereas in the *Dulva* it comes before his admission to the council. The explanations submitted by Ānanda may, however, be taken as satisfactory, because there is no mention of the punishment inflicted upon him in any of the accounts. Channa, who was the charioteer of Bodhisattva while going forth and was extremely haughty, was imposed the highest penalty of *Brahmadaṇḍa*, i.e., complete bycott by the *Saṃgha*. Thus ended the First Council of the Buddhists in which Buddha's *Dhamma* was settled unanimously except for Gavampati and Porāṇa, who were not willing to accept the same as the words of the Teacher.[1]

Second Council

Though the seed of dissensions in the Buddhist Church were already sown by Devadatta, the Chabbaggiyas and the Kośāmbikas during the life-time of the Master himself, it is only a century after the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa* that we hear of a schism in the Buddhist Church. The supporters of the

1. *CV*, XI, p. 412 (Therehi...dhāressāmī'ti)

aforementioned monks might have taken it a good opportunity to attract the ease-loving ones to their side by using the discretion regarding the abrogation of minor precepts in favour of the relaxation of the stringent rules of the older discipline observed by the orthodox monks, and by lowering down the unchallengeable standing of the Arhats to interpret them not far above the commoners in the democratic set up of the *Saṃgha*.

The main sources of information for the history of the Second Council are the *Cullavagga* of the Pali canon, the *Vinaya Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Sarvāstivāda*, the Tibetan *Dulva* which forms the basis of Buston's, Tārānātha's and Rockhill's account of the council, the *Dipavaṃsa* IV and V chapters, the *Mahāvaṃsa* IV chapter, the Chinese versions of the *Vinaya* texts of the *Mahāsaṃghika* and other schools from which Yuan Chwang's account derive information, the texts of Bhavya, Vasumitra and Vinītadeva on the history of Buddhist schools, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Samādhirāja*, the *Mañjuśri Mūlakalpa* and other later texts. The Ceylonese Chronicles state that Ajātaśatu's descendants went on committing patricide till the last one called Nāgadasaka was deposed and the minister Susunāga was appointed as king by the citizens. After eighteen years of Susunāga's reign and eighty years of Buddha's death, the former's son Kālāśoka[1] succeeded the throne. It was in his reign, a century after the death of Buddha, that certain Vajjian monks of Vaiśāli introduced ten indulgences[2] to be permissible. Since this relaxation of the older discipline might encourage luxury by accepting gold and had a dangerous bearing on separate independent schools or companies even for holding *Uposatha* which was as yet held in one united body by the monks resident in one parish, it necessitated the convocation of the Second Council. The *Cullavāgga* records that Yaśa, the son of Kākaṇḍa came to Vaiśāli and found the monks accepting money from the laity on *Uposatha* day. He expostulated with them on that point and, departing thence, sought for support among the *Theras* or elders of the south and west. This resulted in the conference at Vālukārāma in Vaiśālī in which the principal figures were Revata and Sarvakāmī,[1] a pupil of Ānanda. The ten theses were referred to a committee, which rejected them all and this rejection was confirmed in an assembly of seven hundred monks, who proceeded to rehearse the *Vinaya*. Winternitz rightly observes[2] that this presupposes that some criterion was existent then for the decision of such questions and that could only have been some canon of precepts for the life of monks such as we find in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. We are not, however, told that they revised

1. Kern, in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* confuses Kālāśoka with Chaṇḍāśoka, who later on became Dharmāśoka of the Third Council in the Chronicles. Kālāśoka is identified with Kākavarnin of the *Purāṇas*.
2. (a) Storing salt in a horn, which is forbidden according to *Pācittiya* 38 of the *Pātimokkha*; (b) taking a mid-day meal when the sun's shadow is two fingers broad, which is against *Pācittiya* 37; (c) going to another village and there taking a second meal, contrary to *Pācittiya* 35 forbidding over-eating; (d) residing in the same parish and yet holding the *Uposatha* separately, contravening the *MV* rules of residence in a *Sīmā* or parish; (e) sanction of an act after it is done in an incomplete chapter as opposed to monastic discipline; (f) the unconditional following of a precedent amounting to a breach of monastic discipline; (g) the partaking of unchurned milk against *Pācittiya* 35; (h) drinking fermented palm-juice, as against *Pācittiya* 51 forbidding taking of intoxicants; (i) use of a seat without fringes, contrary to *Pācittiya* 89 prohibiting borderless sheets and (j) accepting gold and silver which is forbidden by rule 18 of the *Nissaggiya Pācittiya*.—*CV*, XII and *MVam*, Ch. IV (Dasavatthūni), verses 9-11.

1. Kern confused the list of succession of the spiritual teachers (*Ācariya Paramparā*) of the *Theravāda* down to the Third Council (as detailed in the *MVam*) with the list of succession of the *Saṅghattheras*, i.e., the heads of the order and this led him to the suspicion that *Soṇaka*, the Vinaya chief of the time, was conspicuously absent from the Second Council where such important questions of discipline were discussed. The remarkable feature of the council was that there was no elected president and the business was carried on by a committee consisting of eight members and each tradition gave prominence to its favoured monk.
2. Winternitz, English Tr. *His. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 5.

the *Sutta* or the *Abhidhamma*. But the *Mahāvastu*, however, adds that when the ten points were settled the elder Revata held a council of the *Dhamma* under the patronage of Kālāśoka and this council continued for eight months. This is duly confirmed by Buddhaghoṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*, which further adds that the council drew up a new eddition resulting in the *Piṭakas*, *Nikāyas*, *Aṅgas* and *Dharmaskandhas*.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* tells us that after the wicked Vṛji monks had been subduued for their wrong doctrines and errors in discipline they formed another party and held a rival council of ten thousand monks, known as the *Mahāsāṅgitti*[1] or the great council, and that it drew up a perverted version of the scriptures. They are said to have rejected the *Parivāra*, the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Niddesa* and parts of the *Jātaka*. Fa-Hsien states that they possessed an *Abhidhamma* of their own. Fa-Hsien and Yuan Chwang represent *Mahāsāṅghika* or *Mahāsāngitika* sect as arising in connection with the first council which was either that of Rājagṛha or some earlier meeting supposed to have been held during Buddha's life-time, and Yuan Chwang intimates that it was formed of lay men as well as monks and that it accepted additional matter including *Dhāraṇīs* or spells rejected by the monkish council. Its name admitted by its opponents, rightly remarked by Eliot, seems to imply that it represented at one time the opinions of

1. Vasumitra, followed by Bhavya and Vinītadeva, writes that on account of the following five propositions of Mahādeva regarding the status of the *Arhats*, the *Saṃgha* became divided into two sects of *Theravāda* and *Mahāsāṅghika*: The Arhatas (1) are subject to temptations (*Atthi arhanto rāgo*), (2) may have residue of ignorance (*aññānaṃ*), (3) may have doubts (*kaṅkhā*) regarding certain matters, (4) gain knowledge through others' help (*paravitarana*) and (5) the Path is attained by an exclamation of '*Aho*' (Cf *Kathāvatthu*, II, 1-4 and XI, 4). The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang mentions both the above stated five dogmas of *Mahādeva* and the few un-*vinayic* acts of the Vaiśālian monks as the cause of the session of this council and the cleavage in the *Saṃgha*. Dr. N. Dutta rightly concludes that probably the schism began with disciplinary rules and, in course of time, incorporated matters of doctrine.

the majority or at least a great number of the faithful, but it was not the sect which flourished in Ceylon and hence the *Dīpavaṃsa* is prejudiced to connect it with the discreditable Vajjian schism, contrary to which Chinese tradition may be more correct.

In spite of the minor differences regarding the date and exact site of the council, there is substantial agreement on the genesis of the council and the matters discussed and decided. Oldenberg is, however, doubtful as usual regarding the genuineness of the council on the basis of the negative approach that the *Vinaya* text does not take note of the propositions discussed at Vaiśālī which is not a solid ground to disprove the unanimous tradition of the Buddhist schools.

Schism in the Church and Emergence of Different Schools

All the accounts, however, record unanimously that a schism did take place about century after the Master's demise because of the deviation allowed by some of the Vaiśālian monks in favour of relaxing the rules observed by the orthodox monks, and that the monks who did not entertain the slightest deviation were distinguished as the *Sthaviravādins* while the liberal ones introducing relaxation were declared as the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. Thus this council was marked with a split in the solidarity of the *Saṃgha* and the evolution of new schools leading to the formation of different sub-sects out of those two primitive schools. We hear of as many as eleven sub-sects[1] arising out of the *Sthaviravāda* and five[2] out of the *Mahāsaṅghika*. Thus there became altogether eighteen sets[3] including

1. (a) *Mahisāsaka*, (b) *Vṛjiputraka*, (c) *Sarvāstivādī*, (d) *Dharmaguptika*, (e) *Dharmottariya*, (f) *Channāgārika*, (g) *Bhadrayānika*, (h) *Sammitiya*, (i) *Kāśyapiya*, (j) *Saṅkrāntika* and (k) *Sūtravādī* or *Sautrāntika*.
2. (*a*) *Ekavyavahārika*, (b) *Gokulika*, (c) *Prajñaptivādī*, (d) *Vāhuśrutika* and (e) *Caityavādi*.
3. The *Sarvāstivāda* tradition, however, enumerates them as the following : (1) *Mahāsāṅghika* : (1) *Prajñaptivādī*, (2) *Lokottaravādī*, (3) *Ekavyavahārika* and (4) *Gokulika*. (B) *Sthaviravādī*

the two original ones, besides the six[1] others in the different districts of India and two[2] more in Ceylon within three or four centuries after the Lord's departure, i.e., by the time of the Third Council held under the patronge of Aśoka and sometimes after, as detailed in the chronicles and the commentary of the *Kathāvatthu*. But these sets or schools have long ceased to exist and must not be confounded with any existing denominations. Eliot rightly confirms Fa-Hsien's statements that these sets agree in essentials and differ so much in details that they have different collections of scriptures. Since these collections had not been committed to writing by that time, they admitted later explanatory matter. Each school maintained that the memory of its own scholars had transmitted the most accurate and complete account.

It is generally agreed that the eighteen schools were in existence during or shortly before the reign of Aśoka and that six others arose about the same period, but subsequent to them. The best materials for a study of their opinions are afforded by the text and commentary of the *Kathāvatthu*, which is an examination and refutation of heretical views. The religious horizon of the heretics confuted in the *Kathāvatthu* does not differ materially from that of the *Piṭakas*. I-Ching tells us that during his visit of India (671-695 A.D.) there were the following four principal schools, with eighteen sub-divisions : the *Mahāsāṅghika*, the *Sthavira*, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* and the *Sammitiya*, and from the time of Aśoka onwards they throw the remaining divisions into the shade. He adds that it is not determined which of the four should be grouped with the *Mahāyāna* and which with the *Hinayāna*, that distinction being later in origin. The germs of *Mahāyana* may be detected in the opinions of some sects on the nature of the Buddha

(1) *Hemavata*, (2) *Vātsīputriya*, (3) *Dharmottariya*, (4) *Bhadrayānika*, (5) *Sammitiya*, (6) *Sannāgārika*, (7) *Sarvāstivādī*, (8) *Mahisāsaka*, (9) *Dharmaguptika*, (10) *Kāśyapiya* and (11) *Sauttāntrika*.

1. (a) *Hemavata*, (b) *Rājagiriya*, (c) *Siddhārthika*, (d) *Pūrvaśailiya*, (e) *Aparaśailiya* and (f) *Vājirīya*.
2. *Dharmaruci* and *Sāgalīya*.

and the career of a Bodhisattva. The *Mahāsāṅghikas* probably represent the elements which developed into *Mahāyāna*. The *Sthaviravādins* remained *Hinayāna* throughout the existence, while the *Mahāsāṅghikas* gradually gave up their *Hinayāna* doctrines and became the forerunners of *Mahāyānism*. Once the disruptive forces were set in motion the *Saṃgha* could no longer remain a single whole. Sect after sect came into existence on slight differences of opinions concerning disciplinary rules, and even cutting, colouring and wearing of robes. But the differences between these sects were not vital but concerned the composition of the canon and details of discipline, as we have stated earlier.

Buddhism turned into a world religion as a result of the initiative taken in the Third Council for its expansion under the patronage of Emperor Aśoka and this will be the subject of our discussion in the next chapter.

8

Third Council : Asoka and Expansion of Buddhism

The description of the Third Buddhist Council, as found in the Chronicles of Ceylon, presents a list of the succession of the religious teachers down from Upāli, who was the direct disciple of the Buddha and the specialist of *Vinaya* in the rehearsal of the First Council, up to Moggaliputta Tiss, who was the president of the Third Council. So also it presents a list of the succession of the kings down from Kālāśoka, during whose reign the Second Council was held, up to Aśoka, who arranged for the convocation of the Third Council. The great landmark in the early history of Buddhism is the reign of Aśoka, who had a significant role specially in making it a world religion. He came to the throne about 270 B.C. and inherited the vast dominions of his father Bindusāra and grandfather Chandragupta Maurya. He extended the dominion and consolidated his vast empire lying from Afghanistan to the mouth of the Ganges and southwards almost to Madras.

Almost all that we know of the political events of his reign is that his coronation did not take place until four years later, which may indicate a disputed succession and it is said that he had to kill his ninety-nine half-brothers for the purpose, and that he rounded off his possessions by the conquest of Kaliṅga in which tremendous loss of life caused the end of his military campaigns and is the starting point of his religious

conquests. No evidence substantiates the later stories which represent him as a monster of wickedness before his conversion. Buddhists describe him as an exemplary ruler after conversion and as a dotard in his old age. Their testimony is neither corroborated, nor directly contradicted by his numerous edicts. However, the general effect of Aśoka's rule on the history of Buddhism and indeed of Asia is clear.

But how did he become so interested in the propagation of Buddhism that he bequeathed his own son and daughter for its service, when, according to the *Dipavaṃsa,* he at first favoured heretics?—The *Mahāvaṃsa* states that Aśoka, like his father, nourished sixty thousand Brāhmaṇas for three years. But he became dissatisfied with their unseemly manner of making noise for more food while they were being served with it[1]. At this time, he happened to meet Nigrodha Śrāmaṇera, who was a posthumous son of Sumana, the eldest son of Bindusāra. He (Aśoka) listened to his (Nigrodha's) discourse on *Apramāda,* i.e., diligence and was so impressed that he arranged daily food for him and his fellow brethren, in place of the non-Buddhists whom he had been feeding so long[2]. Learning from Moggaliputta Tissa that there were eighty-four thousand sections in the *Dhamma,* he caused the same number of monasteries to be built. Then he became highly impressed to witness the Buddha's image made by Mahākālanāga. Aśoka built *caityas* on the spots sanctified Buddha's visits[3]. He ordered that all were to take upon themselves the duties of the *Uposatha*-day and hear religious discourses and make offerings of many kinds. Since then he became known as *Dharmāśoka* instead of *Caṇḍāśoka*[4]. He inspired his uterine-brother Tissa to be ordained. Thereafter, Agnibrahmā, the nephew and son-in-law of Aśoka, as also Agnibrahmā's son, Sumana, and Aśoka's son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā were ordained. The last two crossed

1. *MVam,* III Council, verses 34 and 35.
2. *Ibid,* verses 68-71.
3. *Ibid,* verse 175.
4. *Ibid,* verse 189.

to Laṅkā and converted the whole island to the Buddhist faith.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* further states that the heretics who had lost their income and honour were attracted by these prospects to enter the Buddhist order. They continued, however, to adhere to their old faiths and practices and preached their doctrines as the doctrines of the Buddha. This caused a great confusion in the determination of the true doctrine of the Master and consequently no *Uposatha* or *Pavāraṇā*[1] ceremony was held in any of the monasteries for seven years. The king sent a minister to persuade the monks of Aśokārāma to hold *Uposatha*. On the monks' refusal to comply with the king's wishes, the minister had them seated in a row and began to behead them one after another. At this, Aśoka's brother Tissa, who was also a monk in the same monastery, intervened by taking a seat in the row. The minister got puzzled and sought the king's direction over the issue. Aśoka was shocked at the news and wanted to know if he was responsible for such a heinous act. The monks advised him to contact the learned old monk named Moggaliputta Tissa, who, being extremely distressed at the behaviour of the heretics, had retired to a secluded retreat on the *Ahogaṅga* mountain. After long persuasion the learned monk arrived at Pāṭaliputra and convinced the king of his innocence in the matter since he had no such intention as to behead those monks. Then the total number of monks were assembled and they were asked as to what the doctrine of the Buddha was. All those who gave heretical answers numbering sixty thousand were turned out. The rest declared that they were *Vibhajjavādins*, i.e., the followers of the doctrine of the analytics which Moggaliputta Tissa declared to be the original teaching of the Buddha.

Thus the *Saṃgha* being purged of unorthodox elements, the order held *Uposatha* in concord. The selected one thousand orthodox monks held the Third Council at Pāṭaliputra. Here the three *Piṭakas* were rehearsed to establish the purity of

1. *Ibid*, verses 229-230 and 234-235.

the canon, which had been imperilled by the rise of different sects and their rival claims, teachings and practices. This council, which is said to have been held 236 years after the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*, was presided over by Moggaliputta Tissa, who also composed the *Kathāvatthu* with a view to refuting the various doctrinal views held by the non-*Theravādins*. One of the momentous results of this council, which continued for nine months, was the despatch of missionaries to the following nine different places for the propagation of the religion : (1) Kāśmīra-Gandhāra (Modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi Districts), (2) Mahīṣamaṇḍala (probably Mysore), (3) Vanavāsī (District North Kannada in Mysore), (4) Aparāntaka (Northern Konkan), (5) Mahārāṣṭra, (6) Yavana countries (Greece), (7) Himavanta (Himalayan region), (8) Suvarṇabhūmi (Far East or Burma), and (9) Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon). This tradition of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is partly corroborated by the inscribed relic-caskets found at Sānchi and Sonari. The Aśokan edicts also refer to the despatch of his missions to far off countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. It is to a large extent due to these missionary activities that Buddhism became the ruling religion of a large part of mankind.

Kern, in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, remarks that the account of this party meeting, held at Pāṭaliputra eighteen years after the coronation of Aśoka, is so full of glaring untruths that but few of the particulars can be accepted as historical. It is only in the Chronicles of Ceylon and Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on Vinaya as also in the commentary on *Kathāvatthu* that we get an account of this council; but its absence from the Chinese and Tibetan Mahāyāna literature confirms Kern's statement that it was a sectarian affair of the *Theravāda*-Vibhajjavādins. In the *Cullavagga*, there is no reference to this council probably because this text was composed before the Third Council. Scholars like Minayef, Kieth, Max Valesar, Barth, Frank, V.A. Smith and Levi doubt the historicity of this council on the ground that it is not mentioned in any of the numerous edicts of Aśoka, who was the pioneer of the council. In this connection it may be remembered that Aśoka undoubtedly did much for the

convenience of the monks and the propagation of their faith and so also it was he who persuaded Moggaliputta Tissa to come to Pāṭaliputra where the Third Council was held, but he, however, did not play any significant role so far as the convocation of the council was concerned; and, on the other hand, he might have intended to give all credit to the learned monk Moggaliputta Tissa who had requisitioned the council and presided over it, and hence its omission in Aśoka's edicts.

As regards Kern's doubt relating to the historicity of the particulars of the council that Moggaliputta Tissa's ordination was conferred by the couple : Siggava and Caṇḍavajjī instead of the regular ordination by one person, it may be noted against his statement that the *Mahāvaṃsa*[1] clearly states that Tissa's ordination was conferred by Siggava only and Caṇḍavajjī simply instructed him in the three *Piṭakas*. Then again, where Kern states that in a Buddhist council the question of annihilation of the *Tīrthika* doctrines by Tissa does not arise, it may be argued that the orthodox monks called such persons to be *Tīrthika*, i.e., heretics, who did not strictly adhere to the orthodox doctrines and practices and we know that there were then several Buddhist sects who practised interpreted the faith differently and hence there is no contradiction in the orthodox monks expecting the annihilation of the doctrine of the *Tīrthika* by Tissa. Dr. N. Dutta, appears to be right in holding that the traditional account of the council may not be pure history but the circumstances which led to the council appear to have a historical basis. The breach between the *Theravādins* and the *Mahāsāṅghika* took place in the Second Council as a result of the controversy over the disciplinary rules. It grew so wide that during Aśoka's time, the Buddhist community was already divided into a number of schools or sects resulting from the controversy regarding the doctrine too which is recorded in the *Kathāvatthu* and corroborated by Vasumitra, Bhavya and others. Hence, it is not unlikely that the need for compiling a canon of the doctrines and monastic rules for orthodox believers was felt and that the need was accomplished

1. Cf *MV*am, III Council, Verses 120, 148, 150-51.

during the reign of Aśoka, who himself decrees in one of his edicts that heretical monks and nuns should be compelled to wear white robes in place of the monks' saffron and should be excommunicated[1]. Then again, we cannot reject the entire tradition of introduction of the faith into Ceylon by Mahendra as Oldenberg has done in his *Introduction to Vinayapiṭaka*, and we can refer to the reliquary in the Sāñcī *Stūpa* inscription in support of our statement. One of the important results of this council was that the Buddhist canons including the *Abhidhamma* were finally compiled inasmuch as the *Kathāvatthu* presupposed not only the texts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and of all the *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, but other books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* too, as has been shown by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her '*Points of Controversy*.'

Now, before entering into actual discussion about the introduction and expansion of Buddhism in different countries, it will be proper to examine Aśoka's specific contribution for the purpose and his own conception of religion.

Aśoka has won immortality by the Edicts which he caused to be engraved. They have survived to the present day and are the most important monuments which we possess for the early history of India and Buddhism. His inscriptions give us a unique service as sermons. Some forty of these inscriptions have been discovered. They all announce themselves as the enactments of Priyadarśī, the name Aśoka being rarely used. They reveal that he was a rationalist with his own ideals of religion which would not bear a sectarian name. In the twelfth rock edict he declares that he reverences all sects. He denounced the performance of many Brahmanical rituals and forbade the practice of killing animals which is revealed in Rock Edict I. He had a personal fancy for Buddhism. Rock Edict VIII declares that he paid a visit to the place of *Sambodhi*, i.e., Gaya, and the pillar inscription discovered at Rummindei, records his visit and privileges granted to the Buddha's birth-place in course of his

1. Winternitz, *His. of Ind. Lit.* Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 6.
Edicts on the pillars at Sāranātha, Kauśāmbi and Sāñchī.

religious tour. During this tour he also visited Nepal and Lalit-pur and founded five *stupas* there. In Bhabru Edict he recommended certain scriptural passages which have been identified more or less with portions of the *Pāli Piṭakas*. In the Allahabad (Kausāmbī) Pillar inscription he directed his officers to avert any schism in the church. In Rock Edicts VI, IX and XIII he emphasised the desirability of a happy life here in this world and hereafter in the next world and for this he imparts the teachings under four heads as revealed in his Second Minor Rock Edict; parents must be obeyed, respect for living creatures must be enforced, truth must be enforced, the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil and proper courtesy must be shown to relations. Aśoka wished the recluses to live a saintly life by practising self-restraint, and purity of mind, by cultivating regard for all sects and by keeping themselves engaged in the preaching of *Dharma*.

Rock Edict V records that Aśoka appointed *Dharma-mahāmātras*, i.e., religious officers of various grades to different provinces to help the people of all sects to lead a pious life. Their duty was to promote the observance of the *Dharma*. The local authorities like *Yuktas*, *Rājukas* and Prādeśikas were to hold quinquennial assembles at which the *Dharma* was to be proclaimed. Religious processions with elephants, cars, and illuminations were arranged to please and instruct the people. In Rock Edict XII, Aśoka is more explicit regarding toleration. He honoured members of all sects, ascetics and even lay devotees. He wanted that member of all sects should know and appreciate one another's views though desagreeing regarding their ultimate views. They must all be pure in speech, thought and action,[1] and avoid self-praise and other's denunciation. He says that the main thing is that each man should live up to his own creed. He is far from pessimistic: indeed, he almost ignores the truth of suffering and desires to give security, peace and joy to all. No inscription has yet been found mentioning the four truths, the chain of causation and other

1. Pillar Edict VI.

familiar doctrines of the *Piṭakas* which he wanted to simplify for the use of common people. So also while reverencing the birthplace of the Śākyamuni, a great human teacher, he does not deify him, nor does his language show any trace of the doctrines of *Mahāyāna*.

Rock Edict II describes what Aśoka did for the comfort of man and beast by performing pious acts such as digging wells, planting tree-roots of medicinal herbs, opening hospitals for men as well as for animals in his own dominions and in neighbouring realms of the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas, in Kerala and other countries as far south as Ceylon which he did not conquer by arms but wanted to secure their spiritual friendship. This, however, was not all. As we have already stated, Aśoka's religious missions found their way to many far off countries too, on which the Chronicles of Ceylon dwell at length particularly on the mission to Ceylon where Aśhok had sent Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā. This information is confirmed and further supplemented by his thirteenth rock edict wherein it is stated that he tried to spread the *Dhamma* not only in his territory or among the people of the border lands but also in kingdoms far off, such as those of Antiochus (Antiyoko) II, king of Syria, and the kingdoms of four other kings, still farther off, i.e., Ptolemy (Tulāmaya) of Egypt, Antigonos (Antakini) of Macedonia, Alexander (Alikasundara) of Epirus, an ancient district of Northern Greece, and Magas of Cyrenia, in North Africa. The names of Yavanas (Greeks), Kambojas (possibly Tibet), Pāṇḍyas, Colas as also of Andhras, Pulindas Bhojas are also mentioned in this context. Aśoka thus appears to state that he, has sent misssionaries to (1) the outlying parts of India, on the borders of his own dominions, (2) to Ceylon, (3) to the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia, Africa and Europe. He caused a new capital, Śrīnagarī, to be built,[1] and introduced Buddhism there.

Aśoka erected numerous religious buildings including

1. Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna (modern Pandrathan), 3 miles south-east of modern Srinagar to which Pravarasen shifted the Capital from Śrinagarī of Aśoka.

the original temple at Bodh-Gaya.[1] Their effect in turning men's attention to Buddhism must have been greatly enhanced by the fact that so far as we know, no other sect had stone temples at this time. The example and well-known wishes of a great king, supported by a numerous dedicated and learned clergy could not fail to attract crowds to Gautama's faith which itself was satisfying and again simplified by Aśoka for general practice. It is thus clear that efforts of Aśoka were largely responsible for the popularization of the teachings of the Buddha in and outside India. It is he who paved the way for the Buddhist missionaries, occasionally helped by kings like Kaniṣka, to take Buddhism to Central Asia, China, Japan and Tibet in the north, and to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and other countries in the south.

We would now like to discuss the Fourth Buddhist Council held during Kaniṣka's reign which is a turning point in the history and literature of Buddhism, then tending to the higher philosophical inperpretation of the simple teachings of the Buddha.

1. Bharhut railing relief testifies the erection of a shrine over the *Vajrāsana*, a railing around it and a tree and a puttar with an elephant capital.

9

Kaniska : Fourth Council and Emergence of Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism (Nagarjuna to Santaraksita)

We know that Buddhist missionaries were despatched by Aśoka (vide his 2nd and 13th rock edicts) to the distant Yona country, comprising the realms of Syria and Macedonia. This clearly indicates that the teachings of the Buddha had reached the Greek mind even before the first devout Buddhist ruler Menander, who was converted into the faith by venerable Nāgasena in about the first century B.C. Menander's coins bear the Buddhist *Dharmacakra*. It proves that he helped in the propagation of faith in the region between Hindukush and Sind.

After Menander, it was during the reign of the Indo-Scythian king Kaniṣka, the conqueror of Śaka or Turuṣka race from whom the Śaka era dates, that the Buddhist faith spread throughout Asia. He belonged to the Kuṣana branch of the Yuehchih tribe who originally inhabited parts of modern Sinkiang and who borrowed much of their culture from Persia and some from the Greeks. Thus we see that Persian influence was stronger than Greek over the Mahāyānist pantheon as well as over the doctrine that Bodhisattvas are emanations of the Buddha. But in the reliefs of Aśoka's time, the image of the Buddha never appears to venerate definite personalities

having definite shapes. Kaniṣka's fore-father, Kadphises, the first Kuṣana chief occupying territories in India, was also a Buddhist. This is duly supported by his coins found in the Kharoṣṭhī script at Taxila. Kaniṣka ruled over a vast tract of country comprising Kābula, Gandhāra, Sindh, North-West India, Kāshmīr, Khoṭān, Yārkand and Kāshgar. He founded the city of Kaniṣkapura, now called Kaniṣpur in Kāshmīr. His capital was Pūruṣpura (Peshāwar), where he erected a great tope and a large *Mahāvihāra*, i.e., monastery which are named after him and which have been highly praised by Fa-Hien, and Yuan Chwang as also by Albiruni. The Tibetan and Chinese sources ascribe his conversion to Buddhism by reverend Sudarśana. Most of Kaniṣka's coins show emblems of an Iranian religion and only a few have been found with Buddhist symbols. His coins bear images of Sakayamo Bodo (Śākya Muni Buddha), of Oesho (Śiva), of the fire god Athsho (Persian Atash), of the Greek Sun God (Helios) and of several others which show that, though an ardent Buddhist, he respected all other forms of faith.

Kaniṣka's reign (A.D. 78-101)[1] marks a turning point in the history and literature of Buddhism. It was during this period that Mahāyāna Buddhism began to raise its head visible. Of course, it came into prominence after the rule of the Turuṣka kings when the famous Buddhist philosopher and dialectician Nāgārjuna propounded the Mādhyamika school of philosophy known as Śūnyavāda. It was during Kaniṣka's reign that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held at Jālandhar[2] or Kāshmīr[3] after the advice of the learned monk Pārśva and under the presidentship and vice-presidentship respectively of Vasumitra and the philosopher, poet and dramatist Aśvaghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa laid emphasis on *Buddha-Bhakti*. The authorship of the *Buddhacarita Mahākāvya*, the *Saundarnanda Kāvya* and the *Sāriputra Prakaraṇa* drama is ascribed to him. It was in this age

1. North Buddhist records fix his accession to throne 400 years after *Parinirvāṇa*.
2. Tārānāth version.
3. Yuan Chwang and Eliot hold this view.

that Pali gave place to Sanskrit, the celebrated Gandhāra[1] sculptures developed and figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattva began to appear.

Regarding this council, says Yuan Chwang, the king anxious as he was to put an end to the dissensions in the church, summoned all the learned doctors of his realm with a view to getting the commentary on the sacred books written in accordance with the opinions of all sects. The texts of the *Tripiṭaka were* collected. The selected five hundred monks, while holding the assembly in the monastery built by the king for the purpose, composed the *Upadeśa Śāstras*, i.e., the commentary on the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā* commentary on the Vinaya and the *Adhidharma Vibhāṣā*, each containing one lakh of *Ślokas*. The king caused the treatises to be written out on copper plates and enclosed them in stone boxes which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. The *Mahāvibhāṣā*, which is still preserved in Chinese, perhaps respects the commentaries prepared by this council. Tārānātha says that the dessensions which had been raging in the brotherhood for a century were ended at this council; that all of the eighteen sects were acknowledged as preserving the genuine doctrine; that the *Vinaya* as also those parts of the *Sūtras* and of the *Abhidharmas* which were not yet written down, were put into writing, and that the *Śrāvakas*, i.e., the old monks did not like to oppose some Mahāyānist writings which had made their appearance at that time. Kern, however, has rightly observed that somehow an agreement a *modus vivendi*, was hit upon the base of the principal truths unassailed by any of the eighteen sects; that the council was only attended by the *Śrāvakas* or *Hinayānists*, or at least the opinions, of the Mahāyānists, if represented at all, found no support; and that it is not improbable that the text of the secred books underwent a revision and some parts of the canon were then written down for the first time.[2] This council is unknown to the Sinhalese branch of the church existing in Ceylon, Burma and Siam which kept apart from the

1. Gandhara was a Persian province from 300—530 B.C.
2. *Manual of Indian Buddhism.*

assembly, whose authority is acknowledged by all the North Buddhists, the Mahāyānists not excluded. The traditions indicate that the *Tripiṭaka* was revised and the seven *Abhidharma* books were, probably, accepted.

But it is not stated or implied that it composed or sanctioned Mahāyānist books. It may be that the doctors of the council while compiling *Sarvāstivādin* treatise accepted the principle that there is no more than one vehicle which can take mankind to salvation. It appears, however, that the *Sarvāstivādin* monks of the school predominated at the council. Though the details appear to be exaggerated, it would be unreasonable to disbelieve the tradition persisting among the North Buddhists regarding the historical truth of the Fourth Council. The details of this council, found after a lapse of five centuries in the accounts of Yuan Chwang and also in still later accounts of the Tibetan chronicles, offer sufficient ground to contradict La Vallee Poussin's statement that the council was "an apologetic quasi-invention."

The *Sarvāstivādin* school flourished in Gandhāra, Kāshmīr and Central Asia. Kaniṣka's casket shows that he patronized it. But it appears to have been hardly known in Ceylon or Southern India. It was the principal northern form of *Hinayānism*, just as the *Theravāda* was the southern form. I-Ching, however, says that it prevailed in the Malay Archipilego. Its doctrines, though *Hinayānist*, hold that the external world can be said to exist and is not merely a continual process of becoming. The adherents of this school were also called *Vaibhāṣikas*, so named after their exegetical literature. But the association of the *Sarvāstivādins* with *Mahāyānists* is clear from the council of Kaniṣka onwards. Many eminent Buddhists began by being *Sarvāstivādins* and became *Mahāyānists*, their earlier belief being regarded as preliminary rather than erroneous. Yuan Chwang translated the *Sarvāstivādin* scriptures in his old age and I-Ching belonged to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school; yet both authors wrote as if they were devout *Mahāyānists*. The Tibetan Church is generally regarded as an extreme form of *Mahāyānism* but its *Vinaya* is that of the *Sarvāstivādins*. The strength of the *Hinayānist* schools lay in

the *Vinaya*. The *Mahāyānists* showed tendency to replace it by legends and vague if noble aspirations. But the code of the *Sarvāstivādins* enjoyed general esteem in Central Asia and China.

The three stages in the history of Indian Buddhism are marked by Aśvaghoṣa representing an ornate and transitional phase of the older schools leading to *Mahāyānism;* by Nāgārjuna connected with the *Prajñā-Pāramitā* and the nihilistic philosophy; and by Asaṅga, the founder of the later and more scholastic system called *Yogācāra*. Asaṅga is associated with a series of revelations said to have been made by Maitreya.

We have already discussed Aśvaghoṣa. Now, let us turn to Nāgārjuna and then to Asaṅga and other teachers of *Mahāyāna*. The former one, also known as Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, has been called by Yuan Chwang as one of the four suns of the world, along with Āryadeva, Kumāralābha (Kumārlāta) and Aśvaghoṣa. T. Watters rightly calls him one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism. There are diverse opinions about the span of his life stretching between sixty to six hundred years of age. So many legends have been woven about his life that his historical personality has been challenged. But considering that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* represents Nāgārjuna to have flourished immediately after the Turuṣka kings, Kern may be said to be not far from correct holding that Nāgārjuna lived about the middle or the latter half of the second century. He was a friend and contemporary of the Satvāhana king, Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra who flourished in the latter half of the second century. He is said to have been born in a Brahmin family of Vidarbha (Berar) and to have had as teacher a Śūdra named Saraha or Rāhulbhadra, a foreigner. He is represented not only as a philosopher but also as a great magician, builder, physician, astronomer and maker of images.[1] The authorship of the *Prajñā-Pāramitā*, accepted as a revelation, and its commentary known as the *Mahāprajñā-Pāramitā* is attributed to him. He is the author of the great philosophical work,

1. *Biography of Nāgārjuna* translated into Chinese by Kumārajiva, and Bāṇa's *HC*.

Mādhyamika Kārika or *Mādhyamika Śāstra*, which is an epitome of the teachings contained in the *Mahāyāna Sūtras*. About twenty treatises available in Chinese translation are the generally ascribed to Nāgārjuna. One of his treatises is known as the *Suhrillekha*. I-tsing saw children committing it to memory and adults making a life-long study of it. This shows that Nāgārjuna was not a destructive thinker but morality plays as important a role in his philosophy of *Śūnyatā* as in any other philosophical discipline. He was perhaps the first eminent exponent of *Mahayānist* metaphysics. But tradition ascribes to him the corrupting mixture of metaphysics and magic.

The third century offers a strange blank in Indian history. Little can be said except that the power of the Kuṣanas had declined and that Northern India was probably invaded by Persians and Central Asian tribes. In Southern India religion and speculation flourished and spread northwards in later times. As a result of this Dravidian influence on Buddhism in the third century A.D. we find Nāgārjuna's successor Āryadeva (also called Kāṇadeva or Nīlanetra) to be a southerner. Bodhidharma too came from the south and imported into China a form of Budhism which has left no record in India.

The next epoch in the history of Budhism is marked by the names of Asaṅga or Ārya Asaṅga and his younger brother Vasubandhu. They were born in a Brahmin family in Puruṣpura in the Gandhāra country in fourth century A.D. Both of them were converted into *Mahāyānism* from *Sarvāstivāda* school. The former one is considered as the founder of *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda* school of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. Winternitz, however, names Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga's teacher as its founder. But there is no doubt that Asaṅga was regarded as the most prominent teacher of that school.

Vasubandhu was formerly a celebrated teacher of the *Vaibhāṣika* branch of the *Sarvāstivāda* school of *Hinayāna*. He is the author of the encyclopaedic work of Buddhist philosophy known as *Abhidharmakośa*. When this book was expanded into a prose commentary by himself, some of the *Vaibhāṣika* doctrines were disapproved and criticised, because the author's views had undergone a change by that time. Vasubandhu wrote the *Parmārtha-Saptati* probably to confute Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhya-Saptati*. He also wrote the *Tarka-Śāstra* and the *Vādavidhi* on logic, the *Mahāyanist* commentaries on the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika Sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Vajracchedikā Prajñā Pāramitā* as well as the *Vijñaptimātrāsiddhi*.

Among the inheritors of Vasubandhu mention may be made of Sthiramati, the younger Dharmapāla and his pupil Candrakīrti. In the beginning of the fifth century, there lived Buddhapālita and Bhāvāviveka or Bhāvya, the founders of *Prāsaṅgika* and *Svatantra* schools respectively. They belonged to the school of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Among Sthiramati, Dinnāga and Dharmapāla from Vasubandhu's school in the same century, the former one is the founder of Buddhist logic and has been called the "Father of Medieval *Nyāya*" as a whole. He too was first a *Hinayānist* of the *Vātsiputriya* sect and latter a *Mahāyānist*. He went to Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Odivisa (Orissa) and Mahārāṣtra to participate in religious contests with scholars. The authorship of about a hundred treatises on logic still preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations, is ascribed to him.

Dharmapala, who was a prominent teacher of *Vijñānavāda* school, wrote a commentary on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, Dinnāga's successor Dharmakīrti, the Kant of India in the words of Stcherbatsky, lived in the seventh century. He studied logic from Īśvarasena, one of Dinnāga's pupils. Later, he went to Nālandā and became a disciple of Dharmapāla who was at that time the *Saṃgha-Sthavira* of the *Mahāvihāra*. He wrote the *Pramāṇa-Vārtika*, the *Pramāṇa-Viniścaya*, the *Nyāyabindu*, the *Sambandha Parikṣā*, the *Hetu-Vindu*, the *Vāda Nyāya* and the *Samānāntara Siddhi* which deal generally with the Buddhist theory of knowledge.

Candrakīrti lived in the sixth century. He studied the works of Nāgārjuna under Kamalabuddhi, the pupil of Buddhapālita and Bhāvya. He, the chief of the *Prāsaṅgika* school, lived as a *Paṇḍita* in Nālandā and wrote the *Mādhyamakavatāra*

on *Mādhyamika* philosophy. His opponent and contemporary Chandragomin was a renowned Grammarian, philosopher and poet

The successor of Dharmapāla in Nālandā called Jayadeva, had a pupil named Śāntideva, who probably lived in the seventh century A.D. and was the most prominent among the later teachers of *Mahāyāna*. He acquired great magical powers. The authorship of the *Sikṣā Samuccaya* (a manual of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism), *Sūtra Samuccaya* and *Bodhicariyāvatāra* has been attributed to him by Tārānātha.

In the eighth century Śāntarakṣita wrote a large philosophical work—*Tattvasaṃgraha* in the *Svātantrika Yogācāra* fashion and criticized several teachers of other philosophical systems of his time, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. His pupil, Kamalaśīla, wrote a commentary on it. Besides the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Śāntarkṣita wrote the *Mādhyamakālamkāra Kārikās* with his own commentary. He came from Nālandā to Tibet. His brother-in-law and collaborator is said to be one Padmasambhava, who is usually mentioned as the founder of Lamaism. One Advayavajra wrote many didactic poems on the *Mahāyāna* and the *Vajrayāna*.

Mantrayāna and *Vajrayāna* are branches of the *Mahāyāna*. *Mantrayāna* is the vehicle in which, the *Mantras*, words and syllables of mysterious power, are the chief means of attaining salvation. *Vajrayāna* is the vehicle which leads man to salvation by means of *Vajra* or the thing impermeable which also means the male organ. This *Vajrayāna* is a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas. In the *Tāntric* ritual literature there is also the *Sādhanās* or works on magic ritual by which a person can attain to *Siddhi*. The methods taught in the *Sādhanās* consist of the *Mantras* to be used according to certain positions of the fingers (*Mudrās*). The *Sādhaka* is to become so absorbed in meditation (*dhyāna*) on some deity that he becomes identified with it. The deities worshipped then are the *Dhyānī* Buddhas and their families and also numerous forms of Tārā and other female deities as well as Vajraṅga, an incarnation of Manjuśrī. *Sahajayāna* refuses asceticism,

ceremonies and the worship of images and recommends only meditation on the body in which all the gods dwell.

There is no doubt that the ritual of the *Vajrayāna* has led to gross abuses and, on the other hand, it has a mystic philosophical background. This *Yāna* teaches a monistic philosophy. Just as Śiva and Pāravatī are one, Buddha and his *Śakti*, Tārā, or *Bhagavatī* or *Prajñā Pāramitā* are one. This unity is symbolised figuratively by the intimate embrace (*Yuganaddha*) of the gods and goddesses, who, for the most part, are merely male and female personifications of abstract ideas. The sexual union, in which the man is regarded as the incarnation of Buddha, and the woman as that of Bhagavatī, serves the same symbolical purpose as that pictured in the cult. At the time of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, that is to say, from the ninth to the eleventh century, *Yoga* and magic were paramount in Buddhism. Most likely, the Buddhist *Tantras* did not come into being until the seventh or eighth century A.D. under the influence of the *Śivait Tantras*, and belong to the period in which Buddhism was almost entirely assimilated with Hinduism.

The lands where *Tāntrism* (i.e., *Mantrayāna*, *Vajrāyāna* or *Sahajayāna*) was the most widespread, and perhaps where it originated, are Assam and Bengal. From the eighth century onwards it proceeded from this territory in a veritable triumph to Tibet and China, where it mingled with the native cults. In the *Tārā-Tantra* Buddha and Vaśiṣtha are described as great *Bhairvas*. Buddha was a form of *Viṣṇu* and obtained the position of a creator. *Tantras* are nevertheless extremely important owing to their great popularity over a spiritual life of western India and of considerable portions of Asia.

The Buddha never entertained the idea of God as ruling over the destiny of mankind. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism turned the human Buddha, Śākyamuni, into an eternal and supreme deity presiding over the world, ready to grant boons to his devotees. The historical Buddha is only an emanation sent by the *Ādi-buddha* to preach the *Dharma* and save mankind from its ills. People now began to pray and worship him in order to please him so that he might guide them to salvation. Buddhism thus

became a Buddha cult in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* and other Mahāyāna Sūtras. This evolution of the original atheistic Buddhism into theistic *Mahāyānism* was a result of the religious fervour of its adherents under the dominating influence of theistic Hinduism through centuries. *Mahāyāna* became popular and powerful owing to its devotional aspect combined with the preaching of active compassion and perhaps due to its tendency to follow many Hindu ideas and it succeeded finally in absorbing all the old sects barring the Southern Buddhists.

Now, after discussing the Fourth Council in which "an agreement was hit upon the base of the principal truths unassailed by any of the eighteen sects" it is expedient that we should discuss the basic Doctrines of the Buddha which attracted the expansion of Buddhism to the extent of a world religion.

10

Fundamental Problems of Buddhist Philosophy

Section I

PRATĪTYA-SAMUTPĀDA (THE BUDDIST THEORY OF CAUSATION

Proper Interpretation of the Twelve-linkes of Causation as the Determining Principle of Rebirth:

We know that the Buddha was unwilling to give out the truth realised by him inasmuch as it was so deep and subtle that it would not be possible for the generality of people to comprehend it. On second thought, however, after being inspired by Brahmāsahamapati, he decided to expound the truth for the benefit of those who were spiritually advanced. This hesitation had come to his mind in connection with the theory of causation known as *Pratitya Śamputpāda*, Pāli *Paṭicca Śamuppāda*. This formula is so important that it has been dealt with in most of the Buddhist texts, early or late and is found engraved in numerous seals and images of the Buddha so far discovered. Hence, it is evident that this formula formed the corner-stone of Buddha's teachings. The Four Noble Truths,[1] eight-fold path,[2] impermanence of

1. Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri Ariya Saccāni*) consist of: (a) *Dukkha*, i.e., the truth that the entire worldly existence is full of misery, (b) *Samudaya* i.e., the truth that Attachment (*Taṇhā*) is the cause of misery, (c) *Nirodha*, i.e., the truth that cessation of attachment is the cessation of misery and (d) *Magga*, i.e., the truth that the middle path (Majjhimā Paṭipadā) consisting of the Eight-fold noble path (*Ariyo Aṭṭhangiko Maggo*) leads to the cessation of misery.
2. Eight-fold path consists of: (a) *Sammā Diṭṭht* (Right View), (b) *Sammā Saṃkappo* (Right Determination), (c) *Sammā Vacā* (Right

Skandhas[1], non-existence of *Ātman*[2], theory of *Karma*[3], the *Bodhipakṣiya dharma*[4], *Bodhyangas* and so forth are all embodied in it. These doctrines are essential features of Buddhist metaphysics and are mentioned in all important texts of the *Hina* and *Mahāyāna* schools. It is for this representative character of *Paṭicca Śamuppāda*, the Buddhist theory

Speech), (d) *Sammā Kammanto* (Right Action), (e) *Sammā Ājīvo* (Right Means of Livelihood), (f) *Sammā Vāyāmo* (Right Mental Effort), (g) *Sammā Sati* (Right Attentiveness) and (h) *Sammā Samādhi* (Right Concentration).

1. *Skandha* or *Pañcakkhanda* are the following five aggregates : *Rūpa* (matter), *Vedanā* (feeling), *Saññā* (cognition), *Saṅkhāra* (disposition) and *Viññāna* (consciousness).
2. According to *Anatta Vāda* nothing has its own independent existence in this world, i.e., there is no existence of *Ātman*.
3. The theory of *Karma* denies the existence of permanent soul. It still supports the theory of rebirth, but through the medium of *Karma* or action which also is not static.
4. *Bodhipakṣiya Dharma* or *Bodhipakkhiya Dhamma* : There are seven catagories of the thirty-seven acquisitions leading to the attainment of Perfect Knowledge (*Bodhi*) and they include the entire doctrines of the Buddha :
   (a) the 4 applications of Attentiveness (*Sati Patthana*) towards *Kaya* (Body), *Vedanā* (meeling), *Citta* (find) and *Dhamma* (phenomena) ;
   (b) the 4 Right Efforts (*Sammappadhānā*) of *Samvara*, i.e , checking or restraining the entrance of evil thoughts, *Pahāna*, i.e., Annihilation of evil thoughts, *Bhāvanā*, i.e., Cultivation of wholesome thoughts and *Anurakkhana*, i.e., Maintaining, developing and perfecting the wholesome thoughts ;
   (c) the 4 Roads to Power (*Iddhipāda*), viz., *Chanda* (Intuition), *Viriya* (Energy), *Citta* (Consciousness) and *Vimaṃsā* (Investigation) ;
   (d) the 5 Ethical faculties (*Indriya*), viz., *Saddhā* (faith), *Viriya* (Energy), *Sati* (memory or attentiveness) *Samādhi* (concentration) and *Paññā* (wisdom) :
   (e) the 5 Mental Powers (*Bala*) as mentioned in (d) ;
   (f) the 7 Elements of Enlightenment (*Sambojjhanga*), viz., *Sati* (attentiveness), *Dhamma Vicaya* (discrimination), *Viriya* (energy), *Pīti* (joy), *Passaddhi* (calmness), *Samadhi* (Concentration) and *Upekkhā* (equanimity)
   (g) the Eight-fold Path (*Magga*) as stated elsewhere in His book.

of causation, that the Master himself identified it with *Dharma* and his *Dharma* with *Paṭicca Śamutpāda*.[1] Now let us discuss the details of this theory.

In the empirical field nothing happens without a cause. Every event has a cause. This is the presupposition of all theories of causation. In India all schools believe in the causal theory except the materialists who believe in fortuitous production of things without rhyme or reason. The argument of these thinkers may be set out as follows :

The Theory of Causation assigns the cause, that is, the previous antecedent as the *raison d'etre* of the subsequent event. But this does not go deep enough, even if we take it for granted that fire causes smoke and because the latter is found to follow immediately upon the occurrence of the former in conjunction with a combustible fuel. But if the advocate of causality is confronted with the question, 'why should fire produce smoke and not a jar?' the answer will be nothing but a confession of ignorance. We can at most affirm that it is the nature of fire to produce smoke and smoke again has the nature to be produced by fire. The ultimate nature of things is to be accepted as they are observed to behave. So belief in causality is based only on provisional assessment of the character of events and not a metaphysical explanation of the relation of acts. This problem will engage our attention in the course of our examination of the different theories advanced by different schools of philosophy in India. We reserve this examination for subsequent treatment.

The deniers of causality are called *Svabhāvavādins*. In the *Nyāya Sūtra* this question has been broached. It is asserted that the thorn is sharp, because it is its nature, though other things are not so. The problem was not a hypothetical idea, but was seriously advocated by respectable personages in the time of the Buddha. The Niyativādins were fatalists and they did not set value on the causal explanation. Ajita Kesakambalī, Pūranakassapa, Pakudha Kaccāna and Makkhali Gosāla,

1. "Yo paṭiccasaumuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati,
   Yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati", *MN*. I, p. 241.

though they differed from one another in respect of their dogmas, were all agreed on the point that events occurred without the intervention of causal energy.[1] The Buddha was extremely dissatisfied with these teachers, who asserted in common what is called *Adhiccasamuppāda* or origination of events independent of the causal activity of any other fact eternal or evanescent. The Buddha found in these heresies a danger to spiritual exertion. It made all activities infructuous and put a premium on idleness and inaction. In opposition to this theory the Buddha promulgated his theory of causation known as paṭicca Śamuppāda, Sanskrit *Praṭitya Śamutpāda.* The motive underlying the repudiation of these heretical theories is religious and spiritual. The Buddha found that our worldly experience is riddled with pain and suffering:[2] "Birth is suffering, decay of our natural energies is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering, union with the undesirable things and persons is suffering, separation from our dear ones is suffering." The question raised by modern thinkers as to whether the balance of suffering is greater than that of pleasure was regarded as irrelevent. According to Indian thinkers who have started with the postulate that our life in this world is not perfect, made them seek for a sphere of existence in which all suffering is overcome and extinguished. The Buddha's condemnation of the world as imperfect will stand unrefuted even if there is an iota of pain. Pain is not necessarily physical or psychical in the ordinary sense of the term. That there is pain experienced in this world is undeniable. This doctrine has been dubbed pessimism by modern critics. But the Buddha and for that matter Indian philosophers were not pessimists in that they believed and asserted with vehemence that there is a way out of this morass of pain and this meant final emancipation,

1. "Adhiccasamuppanno athā ca loko ca. . .ahaṃ hi pubbe nāhosiṃ, somhi etarhi ahutrā sanlatāya parinato".
2. "Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā, vyādhi pi dukkho maraṇaṃ pi dukkhaṃ, appiychi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippayogo dukkho, yaṃ picchaṃ na labhati taṃ pi dukkhaṃ, saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā"—Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ, *MV*, p. 13

Mokṣa or *Nirvaṇa*. It must be acknowledged that the Buddha was not original in this discovery.

The philosophy of Sānkhya starts with the assertion that there is three-fold misery according as it has its origin in the body and the mind of a sentient person (*Ādhyātmika*) or from other living beings (*Ādhibhautika*) and from forces of nature, such as thunder, lightning, storm, flood and the like. The Sankhya philosopher thinks that the existence of this evil which frustrates a man is the ***raison d'etre*** of philosophical enquiry and spiritual quest. The Buddha did not think it necessary to prove the existence of pain to the sceptic. Accordingly he formulated four Noble Truths (*Cattāri Ariya Saccāni*), viz., there is suffering, there is cause of it, there is annihilation of suffering possible and the means thereto or literally the path leading to it. The Buddha claimed the credit of finding out these truths and held out the hope that man is not a victim of cruel fate, and that it is within his competence to overcome and transcend it by following the Eight-fold Path of Discipline (*Aṭṭhangikamagga*) chalked out by him. The theory of Pratitya Śamutpāda concerns itself with the discovery of the cause of suffering. This causation has been set out in a chain of twelve links (*Dvādasa Aṅga*).

The statement of the twelve-linked causation has caused puzzlement to modern exponents. This is to a large extent due to the meagreness of logical explanation in the Pali canon including the ancient interpreters. Fortunately, the exposition and discussion of this problem in Sanskrit Buddhist works are found to be more illuminating and logically more convincing. We, therefore, propose to give the exposition of this momentous doctrine, which must be regarded as the corner-stone of the Buddhist philosophy in accordance with the Sanskrit texts.

The twelve links in the chain of causation are not primal occurrence, but are continuing from the infinite past and will go on recurring indefinitely unless arrested by the unwavering vision of truth. The most important factor is *Avidyā* (ignorance). One cannot question why and how and wherefore this ignorance has come to possess the individual. Ignorance is

rather an undated event and it cannot be assigned to any particular point of time. The process of transmigration of the individual is going on from eternity, if we may use this word for characterizing the Buddhist theory. Ignorance and the individual called *Pudgal* (*Sattva*) are co-associated facts. Without ignorance there can be no individual subject to the cycle of birth and rebirth. Though according to all schools of Buddhist thought the individual as a particular soul-substance does not exist as an ontological reality, its empirical existence cannot be repudiated without doing violence to our experience. So far as transmigration is concerned, it is irrelevant whether the individual is a simple sempiternal substance possessed of a distinctive self-identity of its own or a psychical complex. The Buddhist preferred to call the individual a continuum of conscious states (*Santāna*) like a stream of water in which every element is succeeded by another similar element and this uninterrupted carrier of similar elements gives rise to the impression of self-identity. It is not even consciousness proper. Consciousness is one of the elements of the complex, though the most important and vital principle of the individual. We shall see how individual is constituted according to Buddhist thought. The individual, however, moves from one bodily existence to another. Consciousness must be embodied in some complex. Accordingly, even in the highest spheres where the physical element is attenuated or dropped out, the individual continues as a person. So the question how ignorance can occur or function without conscious background, does not arise. When in the chain of twelve links priority is accorded to ignorance (*Avidyā*) it does not imply the existence of ignorance in isolation. It is given primacy, because it is the prius of all the subsequent events. The order of evolution or, to be precise, the order of emergence of the factors of individuality is more logical than chronological. The individual is under the spell of ignorance. This prevents the knowledge of truth. The individual is concerned and enveloped by ignorance and under its hypnotic influence induces certain psycho-ethical dispositions (*Saṃskāra* or *Saṇkhāra*). These dispositions are of three kinds, viz. meritorious (*Kuśala*), demeritorious (*Ākuśala*) and neutral (*Āneñjaya*). They may also be characterized as physical, vocal and mental acts of volition. This three fold disposition is called '*Karman*'. According to the nature of *Karman* the individual moves to another birth. The element of consciousness inserted in another existence—divine, human or demoniac. In the case of ordinary living beings the conscious individual enters into the womb of mother on the intercourse of parents.

This embryonic individual develops *Nāma* and *Rūpa*. The *Nāma* is the four non-physical aggregates (*Arūpin Skandha*): *Vedanā*, *Saṇjñā*, *Saṃskāra* and *Vijñāna*, and to this the physical element (*Rūpa*) is super-added, and the two together are called *Nāma-rūpa*.

This rebirth has been variously explained by various theories. The next born individual in the nascent state may be likened to reflection of the original, just as the pupil utters a lesson enunciated by the teacher, or, like the seal and sealing. When the former five-fold aggregate is arrested at the time of death, in that very moment this second individual is born like the ascent and descent of the scales of a balance. The casual efficacy of the previous complex in regard to the subsequent complex has been explained by analogy to the ascent and descent of the scales of a balance as simultaneous occurrents in conformity with popular estimation. But in point of fact birth and death cannot occur simultaneously because of their mutual opposition. If two events, namely, death and birth were to occur simultaneously they become independent of one another just like the left and right horns of a cow, or the two breasts of a woman or the two ears of a man. So the two events, namely, the birth and death of the same individual cannot be regarded as simultaneous events. The antecedent 'death' is the condition of the subsequent 'birth' and so there must be a hiatus between the two, however, subtle it may be. Moreover, the example of the balance is not apposite. The descent and ascent occur successively and not simultaneously. Because of the subtlety and rapidity of the momentary occurrents the sequence is not felt, just as it is thought that a hundred petals of a lotus are pierced at the same time by a needle. What-

ever may be the procedure, the conscious individual develops in the womb of the mother. It then develops the body and the four psychical aggregates. It is true that if the consciousness elements were not implanted or manifested in the mother's womb the nascent individual consisting of the physical organism informed with the psychical aggregates would not develop. This is confirmed by ipsedixit of the Buddha: "Unless Ananda, the conscious individual, enters the womb of the mother, the embryo would not take a shape".[1]

Now in the developed embryo as a complex of the material body (*Rūpa*) and the four-fold psychical aggregate (*Nāma*) implanted in the mother's womb, the six '*Āyatana*' (bases) consisting of six congenity organs, namely, organ of sight, organ of hearing, organ of smell, organ of taste, organ of touch and the mind emerge as the consequence of the '*Nāma-rūpa*'. These organs are rather the doors to the emergence of suffering. The individual sees pleasurable matter with the eyes and then becomes attached to it. In consequence he performs acts out of attachment (*Lobha*), antipathy (*Dosa*) and delusion (*Moha*), and thus these organs open the gate-way to suffering. From this six-fold organs comes about contact (*Sparśa*). What is the contact and how does it take place? The co-incidence of the organ, say 'sight' and the material object, and the aggregate of *Nāma-rūpa*, i.e., the psycho-physical organism is called contact which eventuates in the visual perception. This contact is thus the synchronous emergence of the co-operation of the sense organ, object and the four fold physical organism called *Vijñāna* or the non-material aggregate. The next emergent is '*Vedanā*', i.e., perception with a hedonic tone. The object perceived may be pleasant or unpleasant or neutral in character and accordingly the perceptual cognition may be unpleasant, pleasant or neutral, i.e., neither pleasant nor unpleasant. The

1. Cf. *DN*, Vol. I, p. 67 "Tasmim patiṭśhite......punabbhavābhinibbatti hoti"—*SamN*, II, p. 6. "Tiṇṇaṃ......gabbhassavakkanti hoti"—*MN*. I, p. 327. "Rūpaṃ na jīvanti...mātākucchigato naro"—*SamN*. I, p. 207.

visual perception is rather illustrative. It holds good of the three-fold combination of other organs, objects and *Vijñāna*. The *Vijñāna* is to be understood as *Nāma-rūpa*, the immediate antecedent homogeneous condition of the ensuing sense-perception, which must be possessed of a hedonic character. What is called a hedonically neutral perception is to be understood as neither agreeable nor disagreeable.

The hedonically toned perception gives rise to '*Tṛṣṇā*' or *Taṇhā* (craving). The craving has for its objects the perception which is its antecedent condition. The individual subject craves the continuance of the agreeable perception. He wants repeated occurrence of the pleasurable perception. If it is unpleasant and disagreeable he wants to be dissociated from it. As regards the neutral cognition he also wants that it should not lapse but continue to recur.

This leads to the emergence of '*Upādāna*' (clinging) which is a developed form of the craving. This clinging is of the character of strong volition and takes four-fold shape according as it develops into (i) clinging to sensuous objects (*Kāmupādāna*), (ii) to perverse views and doctrines (*Diṭṭhi*), (iii) to rituals and vows (*Sīlabbata*) and (iv) to belief in personality or an abiding self (*Attavāda*).

This in its turn determines the formation of the potential rebirth (*Bhava*). It is not the actual formation of the individual to be born, but rather the condition of it. It consists in the '*Karma*', i.e., *Dharma* and *Adharma* (morally good or bad actions, physical or vocal) which spring from the material aggregate '*Rūpa Skandha*' and the mental volition which habits seat in the four-fold aggregate '*Nāma*'. It is called '*Bhava*' because unborn individual consisting of a new psycho-physical organism is determined by it. The next stage is the actual birth of the new individual. The individual has undergone births and deaths in unbroken succession in the past. But at no stage the individual is an exact reproduction of its past existence. The form and nature of the future birth is determined by the ethically active volitions which mature prior to the physical birth. The new birth is accomplished when the baby comes out of the mother's womb.

The baby has personality of its own with its distinctive physical, intellectual and moral attitudes and dispositions.

Each stage in the process typified by the different links in the chain of causation has got a definite significance. *Avidyā* (ignorance) is the primal determinant inasmuch as it is ignorance of his true nature by the individual which gives rise to wrong notions and wrong notions manifest themselves in attachment or antipathy or wrong beliefs (*Moha*). The individual to be born develops into a new conscious subject with his decided aesthetic, emotional, moral and intellectual aptitudes which were not in evidence in past births. But the pure psychical complex (*Nāma*) cannot be effective unless it has a body attached to it. This constitutes the fourth stage, but the individual has to perform his definite course of actions and this is made possible by the development of the six organs (*Saḍāyatana*). This typifies the second birth in which the individual with his inherited aptitudes and powers functions as a new creature in a new career. In this second birth the individual comes in contact with fresh objects, develops fresh desires, passions and cravings and acquires new volitional attitudes. These aptitudes become mature and effective at the time of his death and the third physical birth is the visible outcome of the internal process of becoming determined by the emotional and conative attitudes and tendencies. We try to make this process clear and intelligible in the light of the exposition given in the *Sālistambha Sūtra.*

Birth of the baby when the mother is delivered of it, is the inevitable harbinger of old age, death and various kinds of sufferings. Ageing is nothing but the decay of the bodily organism which sets in on the attainment of its full development. Death is nothing but the disruption of the psycho-physical organism. Lamentation is but the torment of the heart distressed for its separation from the living organism and pining for its continuation. Nobody except the enlightened one wants to die. This gives rise to delirious talk. *Dukha* or suffering as such is the pain of five organs. *Daurmanasya* or mental pain is the melancholy caused by what is unwelcome to the mind. The intesification of the physical and mental pain gives rise to different sorts of suffering called '*Upāyāsa*'. After all it is the ignorant and unenlightened person who is subject to these limitations. It is he who is the author of his subsequent birth He performs meritorious acts. demeritorious acts and also natural acts which lead to the next birth. But the enlightened person, who has realised the true nature of the phenomenal world and of personal existence, does not develop any volitional disposition, good, bad or indifferent. The enlightened being has totally got rid of ignorance from which the moral pre-dispositions, i.e., *Saṃskāras* spring into existence.

In the *Sālistamba Sūtra* this process of causal activity has been clearly set out in respect of the isolated individual factors and also the aggregates. The former is called *Hetūpanibandha*, i.e., causation of conditions, one condition leading to the other. It holds good both in the internal and the external order. The order of causation set out from ignorance to death and psycho-physical suffering is studied in respect of leading individual events. Ignorance conditions predispositions, the latter again condition the individualised consciousness (*Vijñāna*) and so on and so forth. If the primal ignorance were not in operation, the predispositions would not have come into existence and consequently the succeeding links.

The causal operation is not consciously motivated. It is purely automatic and unconscious. The consequent follows if there is antecedent. The antecedent does not feel that it produces the consequent of its own will. The automatic unconscious causal process is thus independent of a conscious soul which is postulated in other schools.

The causal process has been studied from the point of view of the living individual entities. But the living individual is the outcome of the co-operation of the six conditions, namely, earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness. It is the earth element which is responsible for the hardened organism. The water element holds the different elements together. The fire element performs the metabolic process

by way of digestion of the elements. The respiratory process is due to the functioning of the wind element. The space element makes the body porus and pervious to external influence. Last but not the least and the most important factor is the consciousness element which gives rise to contaminated mental cognition compounded of the residual five-fold sense cognition and is the basal condition of the nascent psycho-physical organism (*Nāma-Rūpa*). The combination of the different elements in the constitution of the psycho-physical organism is automatic, unconscious and unpremeditated. Both the mind and the body are the basis of the individual and they are subject to change. There is no abiding element in it. The individual is thus a complex and not a simple entity. The individual acts as the self, but all the constituent elements severally and jointly are incapable of serving as the underlying unitive principle which can be spotted out as the transmigrating soul.

What is then ignorance? The six-fold psycho-physical organism is understood under the influence of ignorance as one individual permanent being. It is dubbed as the living principle. It is regarded as the source of happiness. It gives rise to egoity and the possessive instinct, the idea of 'I' and 'Mine'. The 'I' is only an illusion and so 'Mine', i.e., the things that belong to me and are my property are equally unmitigated superstitions.

It is because of ignorance that one feels attachment to external objects. One loves to possess and lay hold of whatever gives pleasure and hates and seeks to avoid whatever is unpleasant. The love and repugnance give rise to bewilderment. These are the predispositions.

The next stage is *Vijñāna*, i.e., awareness of things as objects. The object-consciousness together with the accompanying psychical aggregates (*Nāma Skandha*) and the four *Mahābhūtas*, i.e., major elements, constitute the body. The two on account of their intimate relation are called by one name (*Nāma rūpa*), i.e., Mind-body.

This mind-body complex is already generated in the mother's womb. It develops the six organs without which the baby would not have any experience. It is by means of the senses that the individual comes to experience the diverse phenomenal objects.

The next stage in the evolution is called contact or the contact with the external objects of the senses which have their seat in the psycho-physical organism. The sense-object-contact is not unconscious either in the initial or the eventual stage.

The contact-consciousness conditions experience with different emotional tones. Craving is the consequence of it. It may be positive or negative craving for the continuance of the pleasurable sensation or the cessation of the unpleasurable one. The craving matured and developed is called '*Upādāna*' i.e., grasping. The individual endeavours to acquire what is pleasant and to avoid what is painful.

The craving results in '*Bhava*', i.e., the moral force: meritorious, demeritorious or partaking of both which is the condition of the next birth which again entails multifarious suffering of various degrees of intensity. This process of birth and rebirth goes on uninterrupted until the primal condition, which is constituted by ignorance, is extinguished by enlightenment, i.e., knowledge of the truth that there is no self.

A Logical Assessment of Pratītya Samutpāda

Pratītya Samutpāda is constantly iterated and reiterated both in the canon and the subsequent scholastic literature that was ushered in to vindicate the fandamental tenets of Buddhism against the devastating criticism levelled against it by the Bramanical philosophers. The Jains came into the arena rather late and joined the fray against the Buddhists. This intersectarian rivalry and conflict resulted in a salutary effect, namely, the intellectual growth and development of critical faculty on both sides. Fortunately, philosophical difference did not degenerate into rancour and hatred which characterized Christianity and Islam. Religious differences were tolerated with a latitude unparalleled in other countries.

Religion, it was tacitly accepted, must have its basis in philosophy. The common man is satisfied with the rituals and

ceremonies as competent instrument for securing temporal and ultratemporal advantages after death. But the intellectuals had to satisfy their reason and this necessitated philosophical speculation. Whatever schools of philosophy were sponsored by the Buddhists, each and all of them have accorded the place of honour and priority to the doctrine of Partītya Samutpāda as the very foundation of Buddhist religion and philosophy. Nāgārjuna commences the *Mādhyamika Kārikā*, his *opus magnum* with salutation to the Buddha for the promulgation of the Pratitya Samutpāda.[1] He deduces his philosophical conclusion that there is no reality from the very concept of Pratitya Samutpāda. So also Santaraksita begins his work with salutation to the Buddha and analogy of Pratītya Samutpāda as the final explanation of the world process.[2]

We have made these prefatory observations to emphasize the enormous importance of this theory of causation. The law of causation is relentless, peremptory and unswerving in its operation. The Buddhist philosopher, however, were more interested in moral causation, the law of *Karman*. Each action, good, bad or indifferent has its inevitable consequence. Nobody can escape the outcome of his own action. If there is misery in this world, it is not uncaused, nor is it an arbitrary dispensation of blind fate or any super-human tyrant who finds pleasure in inflicting suffering upon helpless creatures. Buddha believed in the freedom of will and it is open to a man with a modicum of intelligence to make his choice of several alternatives. One may argue that the man who commits theft is swayed by avarice and to that extent he is deprived of his freedom. But there are evil tendencies in the common unregenerate man. Still he has also his capacity for correct moral judgement, however weak it may be. By proper discipline, culture and vigilance he can develop his goodwill (*Kuśala*

1. "Anirodhamanutpādamanucchedamaśāśvatam,
Anekārthamanārthamanāgamanirgamam.
Yaḥ pratītya Samutpādaṃ prapañcopaśamaṃ śivaṃ,
Deśayāmāsa sambuddhastaṃ vande vadataṃvaraṃ"—*MK*, verse 1.
2. "Yah pratītya samutpādaṃ jagāda jadatāṃvaraḥ,
Taṃ sarvajñaṃ praṇamyāyaṃ kriyate Tattvasaṇgrah"
—*Tattvasangraha*, verse 6.

Citta) and Buddha preached the way of acquiring ascendency over the evil.

Unfortunately, the law of '*Karman*' has been misunderstood both by the common man and the intelligentsia. It is difficult even for the man who endorses its fundamental truth to affiliate a particular state of existence to a definite act or acts done by the man in the past. It is only an enlightened man who can discern the causal relationship. However inscrutable it may be in detailed working, our belief in moral causation is irresistible. In order to understand the rationale of the causal theory in the moral plane we propose to examine the causal theories propounded by the different schools of thought in India and the Buddhist appraisal of them.

The difficulty of understanding the relation of cause and effect leads a certain class of thinkers in India to repudiate its validity. There were 'Naturalists', if we may use this expression with justice regarding the materialists, who asserted that it is the nature of things that 'A' is followed by 'B' and no explanation is either possible or necessary. They were called *Svabhāvavādins*. In the Pali canon we come across the '*Niyativādins*' (the fatalists) who believed in predestination and the futility of moral endeavour. Makhaligosala and Pakudha Kaccana are the sponsors of this theory. In spite of sharp differences and religious antagonism between the Jains and the Buddhists there was a broad agreement on the utility of human endeavour. Both asserted that a living being, human or divine is the creation of his own moral actions in the past and the architect of his destiny in the future. The Brahmanical schools were all unanimous on their advocacy of the infallible validity of moral and religious observances. So belief in causation cannot be trotted out as the original discovery of the Buddha. What is then the special merit of Pratīya Śamutpāda which marks it out from other theories, and what again has led the Buddhist philosopher to pin-point its speciality? How this theory of Pratītya Śamutpāda is the special contribution of the Buddha? These questions should engage our attention.

The discovery of the theory of causation is not an originality of Buddha or his school, no doubt, but there are fundamental differences among the theories. The Buddhist formulation of the causal theory contains an ever recurring denial of super-human influence and supernatural agency which can subvert the natural operation of the causal law. In the moral and the spiritual plane the Buddha did not believe in the efficacy of divine grace. Every detail of the causal operation is occasioned by personal effort. This may be regarded as a peculiar characteristic of Buddhist causation. A man must depend upon himself for the working out of his destiny. The Buddha is the most superior personality to whom even gods offer their adoration. The Buddha's majesty is superior to that of gods and all. This is the result of performance of his spiritual exercises and perfect discipline known as *'Pāramis'* (*Pārmitās*).

All this shows that the Buddha is a staunch believer in and advocate of the causal theory. Nothing happens by accident. Each event has a cause. But what is the logical or metaphysical basis of the infallibility of the causal relation? The Sankhya theory of causation is known as *'Satkāryavāda'* which asserts that the effect is pre-existent in the cause. The utility of causal operation consists in making the effect manifest and patent from its latency. This, it is supposed, explains why a particular cause has a particular effect. The relation is selective and exclusive, because the nature of things varies from one another. Water has a capacity different from that of fire and this distinctive character of things is to be endorsed by us on the strength of uncontradicted experience.

But experience tells us on y that one fact follows another. It is the regularity of succession that is cognised in experience, but the why and wherefore is not envisaged. The Sankhya theory is an honest attempt at this metaphysical explanation. The Sankhya philosophy is a very ancient system of thought and religion too. Though in its later development Sankhya came to be affiliated with the Vedic religion and philosophy it is doubtful whether it was in its inception loyal to the Vedic tradition. In ethics Sankhya was an

advocate of non-injury to life and looked askance at Vedic sacrifices for their association with animals' slaughter. If we are to believe in the Buddhist tradition that Buddha in his early days of renunciation became the disciple of Alarakalama and Uddaka Ramaputta, who were adherents of the Sankhya school, it is not improbable that he was initiated into the philosophical foundation of the school. We have, however, no evidence of the philosophical schooling of the Buddha. It is also not far from problematic that the Sankhya theory of causation was developed with philosophical precision as we find in its later development. One thing is certain that even in the Upaniṣad we find, the theory that advocates the origination of an entity from non-entity, is denounced without reservation ("*Katham asataḥ sajjāyeta*)". This shows that the theory known as *'Satkāryavada'* had its moorings in ancient thought, more ancient than the Buddha. We may, therefore, surmise without exceeding the bounds of probability that the Buddha was not a complete stranger to this important philosophical doctrine. That we do not come across any statement in the Buddhist canons which throws any light on this speculative doctrine either by way of endorsement or rejection, may not deter us from making this assumption. The Buddha's attitude to metaphysical speculations was not sympathetic. He was justified by the results that philosophical speculation does not give help to a spiritual aspirant in the quest of truth. He believed in a super intellectual organ of knowledge, namely, meditation as the key to the ultimate mysteries of life. In this also he was not original, but tacitly accepted the religious discipline of the Sankhya-Yoga School. However much the Buddha might have deprecated philosophical theorizing, it is beyond doubt, his followers could not give wide berth to philosophical discussion. The Buddha's fundamental tenets had to be vindicated from the attacks of philosophers. Religion in the beginning may do without philosophy. The inspiration and intuitive realisation of the truth in some sort of mystical and ultra intellectual vision may suffice for the seer and the prophet, and his immediate disciples may not feel the necessity of

justifying their beliefs by the test of reason. But, however much one may emphasize the futility of reasoning, the intellectual man cannot for ever acquiesce in blind unquestioning faith. This is the *raison détre* of subtle philosophical speculations in the latter Buddhist schools. They had to defend *Pratitya Samutpāda* from the criticism of the rival schools. The Sankhya theory came to be the main target of attack by the Buddhists. The Sankhya theory of causation had respectable followers and its widespread popularity was not based on tradition alone. It had powerful logical appeal. Though it may entail a sort of digression, we do not think it honest to leave it unexamined or partially examined from a point of view convenient to the Buddhist schools.

The Sāṅkhya Theory of Causation

The Sāṅkhya theory that the effect is pre-existent in the cause is tantamount to the assertion of identity of the effect and cause. In that case there would not be any need for exertion on the part of a person. If oil be present in the oil-seed, then one need not go to the oil-mill for production of oil. It is argued by the Sankhya that the causal operation serves to effect a a change in the structure of the material cause and this change is the effect. But this contention is denied by the Nyaya Vaiśeṣika school on the ground that the product is entirely a different thing from the cause in respect of qualities and functions. For instance a piece of cloth is produced by the adjustment of yarns in a particular manner with the help of the weaving apparatus. If the textile were present before the causal operation, it would be perceived as a textile and not as yarns. The yarns are parts and the textile is a whole and the whole is a different entity and cannot be explained away as a mere conglomeration of the material parts. So the effect must be different from the cause both numerically and qualitatively.

Furthermore, the question, why is not the effect perceived before its production, is not answered in a forthright and straightforward way by the Sankhya. It may be contended that the effect is not perceived though it is numerically identical with the cause on account of an obstructive barrier

which is removed by the causal operation. But this contention does not satisfy the opponent. The causes of obstruction have been enumerated by the Sankhya philosopher himself as follows :

Extreme distance, extreme proximity, injury to sense-organ, mental distraction, extreme subtlety, interception and when one is overpowered by other just as stars are not perceived in the day on account of the dazzling light of the sun, likewise symmetry as in the case of a particular mustard seed dropped in a heap of mustard—these are the causes which prevent the distinctive perception of a thing.[1] None of these conditions are present to account for the non-perception of the effect in the cause. The yarns are perceivable and the textile is *ex hypothesi*, not different from the former. So both should be perceived being amenable to one and the same sense organ and occupying the same area of space. It is, however, argued by the Sankhya that mere non-perception is not a proof of the non-existence of a thing. Were it so, perception would have been one and only one organ of knowledge and inference and other proofs would have no scope. The existence of textile in the yarn is a matter of inference. But the Vaiśeṣika philosopher contends that inference is possible on the basis of some act or quality or specific function which does not otherwise admit of explanation. For instance, the existence of air is inferred on account of the wavering of a flag on the roof of a house. The presence of a rose in a dark night is inferred from its fragrance. The presence of our sense-organs, sense of sight or hearing, etc. is inferred from the perception of colour or of a sound. But no such condition is present to justify inference of the unperceived effect as existent in the cause. Again the presence of the effect would make the activity of the agent superfluous. It is, however, urged that the agent only effects transformation, combination, manifestation or aggregation of the causal material and those operations

1. "Ati dūrāt sāmīpyādindriyaghātānmmanoanavasthānāt Saukṣmyād vyavadhānādabhibhāvāt samānābhihārācca" — *Sāṅkhyā Kārika of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa*, Verse III.

are not incompatible with the pre-existence of the effect. But this defence is not regarded as satisfactory, because transformation is nothing but the cessation of an existing attribute and the production of a novel one and this rather supports the opposite view that the effect is a novel event which did not exist before. Again, the postulation of the pre-existence of the effect would on the contrary make the initial causal operation continue even after the production of the effect. If the causal activity of the agent be needed in the beginning to produce a fact already in existence, it should not cease after the production, simply because the initial stage of causal operation and the final state of the production do not entail any existential difference. If the causal activity be deemed useless at the end, it should also be useless in the beginning. Furthermore, production would have no significance if existence be an established fact so far as effect is concerned. Production is understandable and necessary if it brings the effect into existence. But if the effect be existent before, there would be no difference between the initial stage and the final stage of the effect. Again, the two terms 'origination' and 'existence' connote two contradictory facts. Origination means the coming into existence of what has been antecedently non-existent. Existence means the presence of a fact. If an existent fact is said to come into existence, it would annul the qualitative difference between the meaning of the two terms, viz , 'origination' and 'existence'. These objections are to all appearance formidable and demand an answer. The Sankhya philosopher has to meet these objections to make his theory plausible.

The Sāṅkhya Philosophers' Arguments in Defence

The Sankhya takes up the first objection relating to the whole and parts. The Nyāya Vaiśeṣika school affirms that the whole is a distinctive entity and is the effect of parts. If this assertion is to be taken seriously at its face value, then the whole should be perceived as different and distinct from the parts, just as one textile placed on another is perceived as different. But the whole is not perceived apart from the parts.

This suggests that the whole is not a different entity as contended by the Vaiśeṣika. The Vaiśeṣika, however, spots out a difference between the two cases. The relation between the two different substances, e.g., textiles, is one of conjunction and this accounts for their different cognition. The relation is one of container and content and in the case of two different substances standing in this relation, the two are perceived as different things. But the relation of part and whole is not analogous. It is inherence (*Samavāya*) and not conjunction (*Saṃyoga*). The nature of things is to be known from their behaviour. In inherence the content is never perceived as an entity existing independently and outside the locus. But the Saṅkhya regards this defence as more ingenious than convincing. There is no instance in support of this contention. The argument of the Vaśieṣika rather makes two assumptions : (1) That the whole is a numerically different entity and (2) that inherence is a new relation. The whole is admittedly of a larger dimension than the parts of which it is supposed to be composed. It has to be shown by a concrete instance that a substance of greater dimension existing in and upon another substance is not perceived as different from the latter.

It has been argued that the relation is one of cause and effect when two substances are related as content and container. Without being causally related, the two are perceived apart. But the relation of the textile and the yarn is one of cause and effect and the two are inseparable, the two having same extension. So the plea that they must be perceived as numerically different and apart from one another on the analogy of conjunction is not acceptable as a refutation. But this defensive argument presupoposes that the whole is the effect of parts and again a different substance and their relation is inherence. Inherence as a relation *sui generis* has to be proved and so also the contention that the whole is a substance different from the parts. Both are unproved assumptions and so the relation of necessary concomitance is not capable of being established. The Vaiśeiṣka, however, contends that the causal relation between the parts and whole is proved in the same way as that between the weaving instruments and the textile. But these

contentions are based on a pre-conceived bias. The analogy of the weaving instruments is not quite apposite. The former are the instrumental cause and not the material cause according to the Vaiśeṣika theory. So the analogy does not hold good. Moreover, if the two facts were related as cause and effect just like the relation between the weaving instrument and the textile, the two would stand apart and not be necessarily concomitant. There is again a powerful objection against this assumption. When one substance possessed of action and specific shape and dimension is amenable to touch and related to another substance with similar attributes, the result is one of collision and conflict. This is seen to be the case when a jar is brought into relation with a stone. According to the Vaiśeṣika hypothesis the textile and the yarns have different sensible attributes enumerated above and so the two should stand apart and cannot penetrate each other. It, therefore, stands to reason to suppose that the whole is not a different substance from the part, simply because they are not observed apart from and independently of one another.

There is another difficulty in the way of their numerical difference. Even conceding that the relation is one of inherence, which is only a convenient figment of the imagination of the Vaiśeṣika, it is not intelligible how the whole relates to the parts. It is supposed to inhere in the parts. But does the whole exist severally in each part or collectively in all the parts together? The latter alternative is not tenable. A thing which exists collectively in all the parts cannot be perceived unless the latter are perceived in totality. But the perception of the supposed whole is not necessarily dependent on the perception of all the parts. For instance, the relation of quality of duality, i.e., of being two is not perceived unless the two things are perceived. A and B together are two in number, but the twoness cannot be perceived if only A or B is perceived in isolation. Such is not the case with the supposed whole and its constituent parts. The cow, for instance, is regarded as a whole, but it is perceived even if any of its parts, say its horns, are not perceived. So the relation between the whole and the parts is not one of collective totality.

Moreover, a whole cannot be supposed to inhere in its parts part by part. That would mean a plurality of parts existing independently of the whole and the relation of these parts to the original constituents as parts would again involve the admission of another set of parts, because the problem of total or sectional incidence will arise. If on the other hand the whole is supposed to be totally existent in each part, this would amount to the admission of as many wholes as there are parts. The upshot will be the repudiation of the whole. The same consequence will arise from another consideration. It is the postulate of the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics that two substances of limited dimension cannot occupy the same space. But the admission of the coincidence of the whole and parts would mean the co-existence of the whole and part in the same locus and this militates against a fundamental postulate of the school. Further, the whole would not be one substance if it were to vary with the parts. The table or chair is regarded as a unitary substance, because it is regarded as one whole different from the plurality of parts. But if there be a plurality of wholes in accordance with the plurality of parts, the result would not be one short of absurdity.

It has, however, been argued by the Vaiśeṣika that this question of relation and the alleged consequences is rather the result of analogy of inherence with conjunction. The existence of a whole apart from part is entailed by the consideration that the whole is produced when the parts are present and also is seen to perish though the parts persist. The mere number of yarns does not behave of a piece of cloth, but only when they are brought into a particular mode of conjunction. Again when the yarns are separated from one another, the cloth ceases to exist, but the yarns continue. The fact that one entity is produced and also destroyed when another entity remains intact, proves that the whole, say a textile, is different from the parts, say yarns. This holds also of the chair and the table. The chair can be decomposed into its parts and the continuance of the parts even after the disappearance of the whole proves that they are two different entities. But this argument, in spite of its plausibility, leaves the Sāṅkhya cold. The Sāṅkhya contends

that the plausibility of the arguments derives from the assumption that the whole is a distinctive entity from the part. It is the contention of the Sāṅkhya that the whole is nothing but an adjustment of the parts put in a specified position. It has to be proved whether the whole, produced or destroyed, is a distinctive entity or only a combination of parts like an army or a forest. The army is nothing but a collection of soldiers and the forest is a collection of trees in a particular position in spite of the difference of appellation. So the origination or destruction of the whole may be nothing but that of the adjustment and combination. Thus the existence of the whole is not proved beyond dispute.

But another argument based on linguistic usage is put forward by the Vaiśeṣika. The expression, "the king's man" shows that two are different. So also the usage, 'a cloth of yarns', should signify that they are two entities. Again the usage that the cloth is made of strong yarns or of white yarns, is a pointer to the numerical difference of the whole and the parts. But the Sāṅkhya regards linguistic usage as an unreliable evidence of facts. Such usage as a regiment of elephants, the trees of the forest, are also legitimate forms, though the two parts of speech do not signify two different things. In Sanskrit "the head of Rahu, the dragon", is not regarded as an unwarranted expression, though Rahu is nothing but the dragon's head. Such expressions as "the doll's body", also pass muster though the doll and its body are not anything different. So popular linguistic usage cannot be cited as logical proof.

As regards the contention that the pre-existence of the effect is not proved either by perception or by inference but only on the testimony of the assertion of the celebrated authorities of the school, this also is not a very powerful argument. There are matters which are accepted to be true, though they are not amenable to perception or inference of an average man. It is postulated in the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics that a substance is the material cause of its qualities or action and, as such, in the first moment of its existence, it is destitute of qualities or action. But this is not proved either by perception or inference. One never comes across a substance without quality or action. Nor is there any quality or action which may be the logical ground of its inference. The position is accepted on the supposition that all qualities are effects of substance which is not capable of being proved as a universal truth. Still it is accepted on the testimony of the founder or promulgator of the system. The Sankhya also is not deprived of such authority. Apart from Kapila, the original promulgator, such sages as Pancaśikha and others who are the exponents of the doctrine of pre-existence of the effect, have their reasons for the assertion of this doctrine. The effect may not be amenable to perception or inference so far as ordinary human resources are concerned. But this negative condition proves nothing. It may not be implausible that persons of superior powers may envisage a fact not perceivable by ordinary persons. As regards the contention that the pre-existence of the effect would make the activities of an agent superfluous and nugatory, the Saṅkhya philosopher gives below his arguments in defence:

(1) A non-entity is not capable of being produced. Production of a non-entity is unthinkable since a fiction like a squire circle, or a barren mother is an instance of contradiction in terms and as such cannot be brought into existence by any amount of exertion. But one may contend that a pre-non-existent effect cannot and ought not be equated with a fiction which is beyond the range of causal operation. It is maintained that the production of a pre-existent fact is nugatory. If the jar capable of containing honey is present and one has no need for another, the production of the existing jar afresh is an idle hypothesis. It is merely asserted that a non-existent effect is not liable to production and no reason is assigned why such production is logically and ontologically impossible.

But the Sāṅkhya does not accept this charge as fair and equitable. The assumption of a non-existent effect makes the relation of effect unintelligible. The effect under production must either stand in relation or out of relation to the cause. Does again the relation take place when the effect is in the process of becoming existent or after it has become a

fait accompli? The first alternative does not seem plausible. The effect which is in the process of becoming is not a substance and not characterizable by action or quality or any other attribute and such an uncharacterized thing is equivalent to a fiction. Such being the case the relation of cause to such an effect inchoate and unfinished is unthinkable. The second alternative that the relation of the cause holds between an accomplished effect and an accomplished cause, is exposed to the charge levelled by the Vaiśeṣika against the Sāṅkhya that there is no need for bringing into existence a fact which is already in existence.

(2) Now let us take up the second possibility that causal operation takes place without any relation between the cause and the effect. But this admission would make causal operation nugatory. The cause having no bearing on the effect, the latter might take place without the cause. It has been asserted with indefeasible logic. "The causes are existent and as such cannot bear relation to a non-existent, and if an effect unrelated to the cause is supposed to come into existence, then there would be no determination of causal relation and it would be totally promiscuous."[1] One may argue that the effect is produced neither before nor after the causal operation, but in the meantime, that is, the interval between the commencement and conclusion of causal operation. To be explicit, when the causes are set into activity and the effect is not yet accomplished, this intermediate time is to be understood as the mean. But this is only a specious argument and betrays slipshod thinking. There are only two alternatives possible: either existence or non-existence. The effect is either existent or non-existent before the causal operation. The Law of Excluded Middle makes a third term impossible between the two contradictorily opposed terms. There is no third alternative intervening between existence and non-existence or being and non-being. A thing which is neither existent nor non-existent is ruled out by

1. "Asattvāṅ nāsti sambandhaḥ kārakaiḥ sattvasaṅgibhiḥ, Asambandhasya cotpattimicchato na vyavasthitiḥ"—*Yuktidīpikā* (Chakravarty edition), p. 61.

the Law of Excluded Middle and again a thing which is both existent and non-existent is ruled out by the Law of Contradiction. So the postulation of an intermediate stage in which the effect is supposed to be and not to be, and the relation of such an incongruous entity with the cause are only arguments of despair. The fundamental objection regarding the relation subsisting between the full-fledged cause and a fledgeling effect is not fairly and squarely faced. So it is nothing but a linguistic jugglery which seeks to go off at a tangent.

But what about the position of the advocate of pre-existence? It is not liable to this charge. The *causa materialis* is not different from the effect and therefore the agent, which lays hold of the cause, lays hold of the effect. It may, however, be argued that the material cause must be different from the effect for whose achievement the causal conditions are brought into operation. To cite the old example "the yarns" or the other causal conditions are not exactly the textile and so the causal operation becomes meaningful. This argument is pointless because the existence of a whole apart from the parts supposed to be the cause of the former has been shown to be a figment of procedural expediency.

Furthermore, the promiscuous production of effects from any and every thing is not found to be possible. The causal relation is rather selective. The yarns are the cause of the textile and not any other thing, say a lump of clay. If one maintains that the effect (sic. textile) must be a different entity from the cause, say the yarns, just as it is different from weaving instruments, one must also be prepared to accept many an undesirable consequence. If the relation between the cause and effect be one of absolute otherness, then it cannot be understood how the textile is produced from yarns and not any other fact. If the textile be other than the yarn as it is other than the weaving rod, this would mean that the cause has no specific relation to the effect. Fire burns and water cools. If the fact burning be entirely unrelated to the fire and the relation be one of total difference, the same relation or rather lack of relation can be supposed to subsist between burning and water also. But this is not the case. This shows that

causal relation cannot be promiscuous. Moreover, if the causal relation be one of complete difference, then the effect would not be homogeneous with the cause and would have different locus, and production of another effect in the presence of a previous one would not be ruled out in the same locus. The contention that the textile is as different from the yarns as it is from the weaving rod, would make the textile as heterogeneous as it is from the weaving rod. Again, the locus of the textile would be different from the yarns as it is different from the weaving apparatus. Further, the weaving apparatus can produce a second textile notwithstanding the previous production of the first textile. If the relation of yarns and the textile be on the same footing, the yarns, which have produced one textile, will produce another irrespective of the existence of the first. But this is never seen to be the case. So there must be a vital difference between a material cause and an instrumental cause.

It has been argued by the Vaiśeṣika that when a material is employed for the production of another entity it is invariably found that the latter is not present in the former. In other words the effect desired is not antecedently present in the material as its content. But this is precisely what the Sankhya presupposes as the condition of production. In reply the Sankhya observes that the relation between the cause and the effect is not one of locus and content but one of identity. The textile is not regarded as a content of the yarns, but rather the yarns are the textile and not anything numerically different. It may be conceded for the sake of argument, "let it be a relation of container and content", but that will not affect the position of the Sankhya. Sesame seeds are employed for the production of oil, because oil is implicitly present in it. A juicy substance is adopted for the production of juice. The milkman draws the udder of a cow for milk, because milk is there. Paddy seeds are husked for rice because the rice is there. So whatever is used for the production or reception of another, must be bereft of the latter. Though it may be true that an empty jar is employed for the reception of water and thus the locus and the content are different, the rule is not universal as we have seen in the cases cited above.

It has, however, been contended that the case of sesame and the like are not quite apposite. Nobody denies the presence of oil in the sesame. But oil is not perceived on account of the rind which obstructs the eyes from such perception. The agent only removes this rind. In all such cases the agent's operation is aimed at removing the obstacle and not for the production of an effect. But these very instances show that an effort is not superfluous when effect is already present. And it is the contention of the Sankhya that an agent's operation is necessary for the manifestation of the effect and the elimination of the obstruction as a pre-condition. The Vaiśeṣika's contention is that manifestation involves transformation and change, and this necessarily implies that the previous stage is destroyed and a new stage is created and this goes against the Sankhya theory. But change or transformation as maintained by the Sankhya has nothing common with creation or destruction. If by transformation the Sankhya was supposed to admit the cessation of previous condition and the emergence of a novel one, he would be exposed to this charge. Transformation or change means that when the material cause is operated by the agent, the previous stage relapses into a latent condition and it develops and manifests a new attribute and the old one goes back into its unmanifested stage. There is actually no production of a new thing. What is thought to be produced is but the manifestation of an existing property, just as oil is manifested by milling of the oilseeds. Thus production according to Sankhya is nothing but manifestation (*Āvirbhāva*) and destruction is nothing but return to the state of unmanifestness (*Tirobhava*).

It is maintained that causal operation necessarily entails structural change, combination, separation, expansion, contraction and concretion of the material, and these are novel products. But this contention overlooks an important issue. If these structural changes relate to the existing material as its properties, it will amount to endorsement of Sankhya theory. These properties after all cannot be unreal *per se* and what is unreal cannot be real. And if these properties be regarded as independent facts, the position that a new

substance is produced as the effect has to be jettisoned. It must, therefore, be concluded that the effect, (sic. 'textile') is not anything different from the yarns. The arrangement of the yarns does not annul their identity on the emergence of the textile. The yarns in a certain combination behave as a textile. In point of fact when the causal conditions manifest a different causal energy and suppress their previous stage and give rise to a novel structure, men of average commonsense consider that the case has ceased to be what it was and a new thing is produced. But this is only an uncritical appraisal of the causal relation. But in the philosopher's estimation production and destruction are only conventional terms for the menifestation of an unwanted form and the suppression of the previous state.

It has, however, been questioned by the Vaiśeṣika, if an existent be said to be born anew as the effect, then it may be presumed that the self (*Puruṣa*) should also be subject to birth and so also the premordial matter (*Prakṛti*). But these two facts are regarded as unborn everlasting entities. If the effect be pre-existent like the self and primal matter (*Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*), then its difference from the latter would not be intelligible. The question 'why are self and primal matter not produced', can be answered with convincing logic that what is existent is not amenable to production. If an existent could be a product, then the two principles would also not be exempt from this contingency. It follows, therefore, as an irresistible conclusion that production refers to the coming into existence of what was previously non-existent.

This contention with all its plausibility cannot be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the causal relation. If a non-entity can be invested with existence it cannot be explained why. A fiction like a hare's horn, cannot be produced. As has been observed, production means a novel structural organisation and change of shape, the question therefore cannot be raised regarding the possibility of the self being liable to production. The self has no parts and as such, it is not liable to assume a new shape. The premordial matter (*Prakṛti*) is also an unorganised entity and has no definite

shape or dimension. So the objection of their being subject to birth and destruction has no legs to stand upon.

The next argument of Sankhya in support of his position is that a cause is possessed of power to produce a particular effect. A thing is regarded as a cause only when it is conceived to be possessed of power to produce a particular effect. The concept of power is meaningful only if it has its seat in the cause and bears upon the effect. It is a relation and therefore presupposes two terms. This argument may not appeal to the Vaiśeṣika who denies the reality of power. As power, according to him, is nothing but the intrinsic nature of the cause (*Karanatā*) and not anything which qualifies this causal character, the problem of power as a separate principle is a controversial matter. We refrain from entering into the examination of this concept to avoid digression from the issue under consideration. But the Sautrantika Buddhist believes in the causal efficiency and power as the very criterion of reality. What is benefit of causal efficiency is unreal.[1] The argument of the Sankhya based on causal energy has a relevancy to the Buddhist position which endorses causal power and yet denies the pre-existence of the effect. Power means "an attribute or property which has influence upon something else." 'A' rules 'B', is a proposition which illustrates power. It means that 'A' has power over 'B'. If there be no 'B' over which 'A' has to exercise his power, the very concept of power becomes pointless and absurd. If you believe in causal energy, you must at the same time believe that it exercises its jurisdiction over the effect and thus the existence of the effect is bound up with the concept of causal energy.

It has, however, been contended by the Vaiśeṣika that the concept of causal energy is nothing but the co-presence of the basic conditions and its auxiliaries as co-associates. And thus the existence of the effect as the entity to be ruled is not necessary to make the causal relation complete. Certain examples will make this clear. The seed is the cause

1. Cf 'Arthahriyā samarthaṃ sat'—*Nyāya Vindu.*

of the sprout only in combination with water. Water helps the seed to produce the sprout. But it is absolutely ineffectual if combined with fuel or fire. The sprout is non-existent in the seed as much as it is in the fuel. The sun is capable of producing fire in the sun-jem, i.e., a lens. It fails to produce water from a moon-jem which is affected by the moon's light. The water in the fire is equally non-existent. The very fact that one is the cause and other is the effect fully satisfies the requirement of the concept of causal energy without entailing the co-existence of the effect with the cause. Such is also the case with yarns and textile. The cause and effect are entirely separate and unconnected in the initial stage.

But this contention of the Vaiśeṣika is not considered to be a fair or effective argument, as it proceeds upon the assumption that the effect is non-existent in the cause. That fire is not existent in the lens, and the sprout is non-existent in the seed, is a matter of dispute. It is maintained by the Sankhya that water enters into the very structure of the seed and both of them become transformed into the sprout. The Vaiśeṣika is oblivious of the distinction between an instrumental condition and material cause when he makes the non-existence of the textile in the weaving instrument an argument for the non-existence of the latter in the yarns. Colour produces colour and also intuition of itself. The intuition of colour is not colour, but that does not argue that it is not cause of colour too. So the argument of Vaiśeṣika is beside the point. The last argument as recorded in the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* is set forth as follows :

The very concept of causality involves the existence of the effect. If this concept be not irrational, it must be admitted that a thing can be cause in reality if there be an effect corresponding to it. In other words the concept of cause cannot be intelligible without the concept of effect. They are correlatives like father and son. One cannot be conceived without the other. As causality is a real objective relation according to the Vaiśeṣika, the existence of the cause necessarily involving the existence of the effect, as the non-existence of one will entail the non-existence of the other as a matter

of logical necessity. The Vaiśeṣika contends that the effect is non-existent prior to its origination. He does not deny that the concept of cause involves the concept of effect but this does not logically or ontologically entail the co-existence of cause and effect. The relation of causality is understood a *posteriori* and not a *priori*. When fire is observed to burn straw or the like repeatedly, it is concluded that fire is the cause of burning. The Sankhya theory would rather make burning a co-existent fact with fire. This is not endorsed by the Vaiśeṣika. But the Sankhya lays stress upon the consideration that a non-entity cannot be produced. In his theory there are two categories possible, viz., existent and non-existent, being and non-being and there is no third term possible. A fiction like a square circle, barren woman's son is not amenable to production. The Sankhya challenges the Vaiśeṣika to produce a single instance by way of evidence that a non-entity is produced.

A Critical Consideration of the Sāṅkhya Theory

The Sāṅkhya has essayed to make a probe into the mystery of causal relation. Being a realist the Sāṅkhya makes cause and effect co-ordinates. He gives a new interpretation to causal operation. Causal operation does not result in production of a hitherto non-existent fact, because a non-existent cannot be made existent as the two concepts are mutually repellent. Origination, therefore, is manifestation of an existent fact which was not perceptible on account of interception by a barrier. It follows, therefore, that nothing new is produced. Novelty consists in manifestation of a fact lying concealed. By parity of reasoning destruction is nothing but a return of the perceptible effect into its imperceptible stage as it was the case before production. There are instances which corroborate the Sāṅkhya position. The coal lying under ground is made manifest by mining operation. The rice is brought out by peeling the husk. From observation of such instances the Sāṅkhya concludes that only what is latent can be made patent. Causal operation consists in making the transition from one state to another.

The Vaiśeṣika regards this as a case of over-simplification. All cases of causality are not comparable to such undisputed cases. The objection that the denial of this theory will necessitate the absurdity involved in obliterating the distinction between being and non-being, proceeds from *a priori* logic. The realist does not accept this clear-cut distinction as objective. The effect is certainly not existent in the same manner as the cause and it is for this reason that the theory of manifestation is propounded. The common-sense estimation of production as the coming into existence of what was entirely non-existent, may cause difficulty to an adherent of pure logic. The Sāṅkhya is influenced by the dictates of pure logic which pays scant regard to experience. Though he does not go the whole hog with the idealist, his theory prepares the ground for the idealist's repudiation of objective causality. As a matter of fact the Sāṅkhya seeks to reconcile logic with experience. He believes that matter is real and its changes are also real objective events. That there is a difference between the cause and the effect is not capable of being bruished aside. The seed and the sprout, metaphysical considerations apart, are not the same thing qualitatively or pragmatically. The yarns and the textile are functionally and qualitatively dissimilar. There may be points of similarity but to make the two identical is nothing short of a magical feat. The Sāṅkhya is compelled to reconcile identity with difference. This, however, goes against the dictates of pure logic. Even if it is conceded that 'A' becomes 'A^1' or 'A^2' and so on, the difference is sought to be not antagonistic to identity. So in the empirical field the effect is endorsed to be identical and at the same time not-identical. This is the position of the Jain philosopher also who does not scent contradiction in such a combination. The doctrine called *Bhedābhedavāda*, which consists in endorsement of identity in difference, is a respectable tenet of many a philosophical system. The assertion of identity of the cause and effect is thus a matter of emphasis even with the Sāṅkhya.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school of philosophy affirms its total allegiance to the laws of logic. It, therefore, demurs to

label the effect as identical-cum-different, existent and non-existent both. The effect according to this system is entirely different from the cause. The objection of the idealist or pure logician, 'why should a non-entity become vested with reality', is thought to be nothing short of cavil. There are non-entity and non-entity. The effect before its production is, no doubt, a non-entity, but it is not fair to identify it with a pure fiction. It was a non-entity in the past, but becomes an entity after its production. It may become a non-entity after its destruction. The Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika school accordingly postulates different kinds of non-existence, viz., (1) prior non-existence (*Prāgabhāva*), (2) posterior non-existence (*Dhvaṁsābhāva*), and (3) absolute non-existence (*Atyantābhāva*). The first kind characterizes the effect anterior to its existence due to causal operation. The second is illustrated by the destruction of the jar. And the third by the non-existence of colour in air. The colour does not exist in air at any time. The Sāṅkhya, however, does not believe in this distinction of one non-existence from another. According to it non-existence is non existence for all time, because it is not liable to be influenced by time.

The Sāṅkhya theory has influenced Indian philosophical thought with irresistible force. Its powerful criticism of the absurdity involved by non-existence becoming existence[1] has led to diametrically opposite results : (1) the reconciliation of identity and the difference (*Bhedābhedavāda* and (2) idealism which repudiates difference and (3) nihilism.

The Theory of Identity in Difference

Those who believe in real change are to advocate in the last resort a variety of the doctrine of Identity in Difference. What is change? It is admirably defined in the Sankhya thought as the cessation of a previous state and emergence of a novel condition in a continuant entity. An unbaked jar is black and

1. Cf "Nirātmakatvād asataṃ sarveṣām aviśiṣṭatāṇ
Viśesanac ced bhinnam tat sattvam abhyupagamyatāṃ"
—*Sāṅkhyakārikā.*

when heated in the potter's furnace becomes red. The question arises, 'Is the red jar different from the black jar ?' If the two are entirely different entities there is no change, but emergence of two different individuals which is the position of the Buddhist Fluxist (*Kṣaṇikavādin*), who advocates momentariness of things. Change presupposes that one identical entity gives up one attribute and appropriates another and yet remains the same[1]. The jar was black in its unbaked state and ceases to be black and become red when it is heated in the furnace. The change of colour does not spell change of identity. A person may combine different functions. He may be a judge of the High Court, Vice-Chancellor of a University and head of a family. The different functions do not affect his personal identity. Similarly the change of attributes does not entail the change of identity. The black jar and the red jar are one and the same qua jar.

Those who hold that the cause change into the effect must endorse the continuity of the cause in the effect. For example, a lump of clay may be made a jar, a glass, a mug, a pipe and so many other things. It is understood that in spite of the change of shape, colour and so on the clay persists in all the transitions. A snake coiled, straight, moving, at rest, is a snake all the time. Similarly, a quantity of gold may be made into a bangle, a ring, a necklace and yet it is gold all the same. In this estimate of change there is an enduring identity.

But an adherent of pure logic is not convinced by this commonsense estimation of change. The Buddhist raises the question, "Is the gold susceptible to different shapes and structures, the same entity in spite of change of qualities?" If so, does the quality remain external or internal to the substantive entity ? If the quality as an adjective remains external to the substantive entity which it is supposed to qualify just in the same manner as it is external to another entity, it will not belong to the latter. To take a concrete instance, if the quality 'blue' in the pen be as external to the latter as it is to a red pen, it cannot be supposed how the 'blue' qualifies the blue pen. It

1 *Yogabhāṣya.*

must be conceded that 'blue' is part and parcel of the pen. But then another question will arise itself. Is the relation of part and whole one of identity or difference ? In the latter case there will be no relation between the two. If two things are different they remain apart from and independent of one another as one pen is from another. As between two contradictorily opposite attributes it is necessarily found that they cannot belong to one entity, difference connotes lack of relation. The Nyaya Vaiśeṣika school of philosophers maintain that the relation of a quality to a substantive or of a part to a whole is of inherence (*Samavāya*) and this explains why one quality belongs to one substantive and not other. The relation is one of belonging. But the Buddhist thinks this device as a tactic of escapism. Inherence is supposed to account for belonging, but the latter is nothing but another relation There must be something which belongs and something to which it belongs. This second relation will stand in the same predicament. If a quality is to belong to a substantive by inherence, that is by means of a relation and not directly by itself, simply because it is different from the substantive, the same question will arise with regard to inherence as a relation. Inherence is also not identical with the substantive and as such can belong to the latter with the aid of another relation. But the latter relation will also fail to make the original relation belong to the term if it remains apart. This will only necessitate the postulation of a number of relations without end. So the explanation by way of relation is only a makeshift which ultimately topples down. It is necessary that relation is possible between two terms which it is supposed to make get together. But logic demands that the terms must stand exclusively in the relation of identity or difference. The two cannot be made to get together. In other words one has to vote for one only to the exclusion of the other. If the quality is identical with the substance, the substance will not be the same with difference of quality. Thus a blue jar will be different from a red jar in every respect. The gold ear-ring and the gold bracelet are not instances of one identical substances, say, gold having different attributes. They must be different substances, because quality and substance cannot be numerically different.

This line of thought has led the Buddhist realist of the Sautrantika school to the conclusion that all reals are momentary. Nothing can continue to be the same unchanged entity even if there be no apparent qualitative difference. A thing must have different relations to its environment at different moments. Different relations involve different relational qualities. Change of qualities necessarily entails change of identity. In simple words each moment a new thing comes into being.

This is not as fantastic as it appears at first sight. The Sāṅkhya maintains that matter undergoes change at every moment.[1] Of course he believes in change of quality and identity of substance at the same time. It is a matter of dispute whether change of quality entails change of the substance or not. But as has been shown above the Buddhist does not believe in difference of quality from substance and consequently difference of quality will entail difference of substance. How does the Sāṅkhya justify his stand in the face of the logical difficulties raised by the Buddhist ?

We now propose to address ourselves to the logical standpoint of the Sankhya. He maintains that every material thing changes every moment, that is to say, it surrenders the previous quality and appropriates another in its place and yet remains the same entity. The relation of quality to substance is not one of absolute identity or absolute otherness, but it is identity in difference. To return to our old example, gold assumes different qualities and yet remains gold. Gold preserves its identity in the midst of difference of qualities and states. As for the objection of the Buddhist that quality cannot be different from the substance, the Sāṅkhya endorses this position, but does not endorse the conclusion that change of quality entails of necessity the change of the substance. According to the Sāṅkhya a quality is not absolutely other than the substance. But it is not absolutely identical either. It is different qua quality, but it is not absolutely different from the substance, because it has no existence outside the latter. Were it absolutely different it could

1. 'Prakṛtiḥ kṣaṇamapi apariṇamya nāvatiṣthate'—
Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī (Vācaspatimiśra)

occur independently of the substance. But this is not possible, as 'A' cannot exist without being 'A', so also its quality cannot exist without the substance. There is thus identity with difference. The difference of quality does not annul the identity of the substance. It has been objected that difference and identity are contradictorily opposed and as such they must be mutually exclusive and cannot co-exist in one and the same substratum. But the Sāṅkhya meets this objection on the ground that the relation is not one of obsolute identity or absolute difference. There is contradiction between them. But difference and identity of quality with the substance are not absolute. The Buddhist does not accept this proposition. For him there is no meaning in the assertion that identity or difference is not absolute but relative Identity is identity and difference is difference and there can be no half-way house between them.

This difference in the interpretation of the laws of logic is a fundamental one. It is a difference of logical temperament and logical predilection, if we may be permitted to use such expressions. It is futile to try to convince the other party. The contradiction scented by the Buddhist is inspired by pure, abstract, *a priori* logic which has no truck with experience. After all, it is experience which acquaints us with the nature of things. No amount of logomachy can change the nature of things. The Sāṅkhya contends that if it be a fault that quality and substance must stand in necessary relation and yet be different, the fault is of the things and not of thought. Logic cannot dictate to reality to behave in the way which is preferable to the former. If experience supports that substance and quality are realated by way of identity and difference both, we must not quarrel with it and declare it invalid on *a priori* grounds. There is no inappropriateness or misbehaviour in nature, and our experience is the proof of it. We know things through experience primarily and if it be not contradicted by another experience, we have no reason to entertain doubt of its validity. If doubt is carried too far, it will lead to scepticism. One may delight in finding contradiction in all our experience, but this is only unhealthy mental attitude. This is in brief the argument

of the advocate of identity in difference as the character of all relations.

To return to causal relation, the doctrine of *Pratītya Samutpāda*, we have found that the Sāṅkhya's appraisal is inspired by a laudable motive to understand the intrinsic metaphysical character of the cause and the effect and their relation.

The Buddhist Approach to Causation

The doctrine of causation as styled in the Buddhist canon and subsequent exegetical and philosophical literature that developed under the stress of criticism of its opponents may be understood in two aspects. In the first place the Buddha propounds the causal theory to stress the fact that an event must have a cause, in dependence upon which the former comes into existence. There can be no jar without clay occurring as its antecedent. Relation of dependence has been interpreted as a matter of necessary and universal sequence. The meaning of the word '*Pratītya*' in '*Pratītya Samutpāda*' is not exactly definable. It has been explained by '*Apekṣā*'. But the connotation of the latter term is not philosophically capable of being precisely defined. In the examples and explanations given in the Buddhist canon, both Pali and Sanskrit, it is stated that when this 'A' is, 'B' occurs.[1] The occurrences are necessary. It is implied that the cause is the antecedent of the effect. The effect comes into being because of the cause preceding it. But this is also a verbal explanation. We do not understand the full implication of '*because*'. Does the cause influence the effect? This is a tough question which does not admit of an intelligible explanation. The Sāṅkhya theory attempts a metaphysical explanation, but it is not free from difficulties. We have already alluded to the logical snags involved in The Theory of Identity in Difference. The Law of Identity asserts the plain fact that a thing, say 'A' must remain 'A'. The Law of Contradiction affirms the truth that 'A' cannot both be and not-be. Being and not-being are opposed

1. Imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti.

concepts and the occurrence of one cancels of necessity the occurrence of the other in the same substratum. The Law of Excluded Middle stresses the fact that it cannot be neither. It must have being or non-being. It is impossible and inconceivable that a thing neither exists nor does not exist. The Buddha also is not inclined to endorse the juxtaposition or the denial of both contradictory qualities and calls the advocate of such a position 'Eel-Wrigglers.'[1]

The Buddha does not, of course, formulate a theory to explain the meaning of dependence of the effect on the cause. He is characteristically allergic to metaphysical speculation, because he thinks that whatever theory may be propounded, the opposite of it cannot be demonstrably ruled out. The Sāṅkhya theory has failed to enlist universal acceptance. The advocates of the opposite theory are not less vehement in their insistence on the unacceptability of the other theory. The Buddha did not think the process of logical analysis profitable or conducive to the understanding of truth. But he took cognizance of the fact that an event is not independent of what goes before it. It is this fact of dependence which necessarily entails the admission of the proposition that whatever has a cause is impermanent (*Anitya* or *Anicca*). This is the second aspect of the causal law. Suffering has its cause and so also other phenomena. This shows that they are impermanent and not eternal, unalterable and stubborn. Because suffering is caused and impermanent, it can be overcome by elimination of its cause. The Buddha unambiguously states the law (*Yedhammā hetuppabhavā*) that whatever is dependent for its existence upon an antecedent condition is capable of being eradicated. The Buddha knows the secret of the total eradication of evil. This has become a universally accepted formula in Buddhist thought and religion.[2]

As we have observed more than once that subsequent

1. Cf 'Amarāvikkhepikā',—Brahmajāla sutta, *DN*. I, pp. 23-26.
2. "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā, tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha,
Tesaṃ ca yo nirodho, evaṃ vādī mahāsamaṇo"—Sāriputtamoggallānappabbajā, *MV*, p. 39

development of Buddhist thought through philosophical reasoning became a necessity, the Buddha's fundamental teachings could not be accepted as unexamined dogmas. They have to be logically justified. The law of causation was meticulously examined. The Sāṅkhya theory became the chief target of onslaught. It was shown that the theory of transmutation or influence did not commend itself as satisfactory explanation. The Sautrantika realist as represented by the school of Dinnāga comes back to the original formulation that one thing happens after another as a matter of necessity and this necessity of sequence is the character of causation.[1] Dependence of the effect on the cause is not to be understood in its literal sense. The effect has not yet come into being when the cause is in operation. In ordinary, unsophisticated language dependence is possible between two existing facts, but the cause ceases to be when the effect comes into being. It is, therefore, to be understood as a relation of determination. The cause determines the effect and it is this fact which explains the selective character of causal relation. One particular cause has one particular kind of effect and not another. This aspect was forcefully demonstrated by the Sāṅkhya. In point of fact all the reasons, that have been advanced by the Sāṅkhya for the proof of the identity of the cause and effect, have been accepted by all philosophers who believe in causation, but they do not think that the conclusion of the Sāṅkhya follows from these considerations. As a matter of fact Buddha-Ghosa in the *Visuddhimāgga* (Chapter XVII) endorsed all these grounds and he drew the conclusion that there is a necessary relation between the cause and the effect. The necessity of the relation need not be explained by the theory of identity of the cause and effect. It is admitted on all hands that the cause determines the effect in some way or other. This determination when tested, ultimately boils down to irreversible regularity of sequence (*Ānantarya-niyama*).

Though the relation does not lend itself to an intelligible assessment from the metaphysical point of view and the neces-

1. "Ya ānantārya ñiyamaḥ saivāpekṣā bhidhīyate"—Tattva Sangrah.

sity of sequence is an empirical appraisal, the Buddha has made it the cornerstone of his doctrine. The Sautrantika has made it the criterion of reality. The real is that which has causal efficiency.[1] A fiction like a barren woman's son has no causal efficiency. A real is that which causes something and this character of causal efficiency has been shown to lead to the conclusion that whatever is real is bound to be momentary. The Sautrantika does not believe in deferred causation. Whatever is efficient must produce its effect. There is no reason to suppose that a thing which is efficient will postpone its activity. A thing must be supposed to be efficient or non-efficient. On the former alternative efficiency necessarily involves its exercise and production of the effect. To say that there is a real and at the same time not causally efficient involves a contradiction in terms. Lack of causal efficiency entails lack of existence which is found to be the case with logical fictions. For the elaborate exposition of this argument based on causal efficiency we refer to the first chapter of *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux* by Dr. S. Mookerjee. This shows that causality had become the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism and seems that the abrogation of the Law of Causation would lead to the abrogation of the Buddhist religion. But we can see in the course of examination of the interpretation of causality by Nāgārjuna and also Dharmakirti's critique of relation that the validity of causal relation is only tentative and empirical.

Nāgārjuna's Examination of Pratītya Samutpāda

Nāgārjuna has made a thorough probe into the relation of cause and effect. His task had been made easy by the speculations of the exponents of different schools of Indian philosophy. The Sāṅkhya theory of causation was criticised by the followers of Nyāyavaiśeṣika school who believe in creation and denounce evolution. Both the theories have their points of strength and weakness. Nāgārjuna exploited the arguments advanced by the contending schools for refutation

1. Cf "Artha-kriyā-sāmamarthyam sattva-lakṣaṇam"—*Nyāyabindu*.

of one another's position and he demolishes both the weapons forged in their arsenals. Nāgārjuna's contention is that the whole world-show is an irrational appearance and his method has been the way of destructive dialectic relying on the reduction *ad absurdum*. The adage, when two parties quarrel the third reaps the benefit,[1] was proved to the hilt in Nāgārjuna's procedure, particularly in his criticism of the tenet of *Pratītyasamutpāda*. He has shown that *Pratītyasamutpāda* is only an appearance and so the whole phenomenal order subject to causation is undiluted appearance without any reality in the background. Of course, he was not the original inventor of the philosophy of negativism, but rather a systematizer. It is also probable that he had precursors whose works were cast into oblivion by the finished work he produced. The speculations in the *Prajñāpāramitā Śāstra*, which unambiguously declare the plurality of phenomena encountered by ordinary experience to be as unsubstantial as dream-experience, were the source of Nāgārjuna's dialectics. His position is comparable to that of Śaṅkarācārya who systematized the teachings of the Upaniṣads on a rational basis and the success of his work made the previous works obsolete. With these prefatory observations we now propose to get down to brass tacks.

None of the entities in any sphere whatsoever and in any division of time are produced either from (1) themselves or (2) from others, or (3) from both or (4) from non-cause.[2] This is the first verse of the *Mūla Mādhyamika Kārikā*. It consists of four propositions: (1) A thing is not produced by itself, that is to say, a thing is neither its own cause nor its own effect. This has been stated in clearer language by Udayana in the *Nyāya Kusumanjalī*[3]. Udayana's argument is a bit different. He draws this conclusion that a thing cannot be caused by itself from the very definition of cause. A cause is the in-

1. 'Dvayoh kalahe tṛtīyasya lābhah'.
2. "Na svato napi parato na dvābhyaṃ napya ahetutah, Utpannā jñātu vidyante bhāvah kvacana kecana"—Kārikā-1, *Mūla Madhyamika Kārikā*, p. 12.
3. Hetubhūtinisedho nah svānupākhya-vidhirṇa ca.

variable unconditional antecedent.[1] If 'A' is to be its own cause, 'A' must be the antecedent to 'A' which is absurd on the face of it. He also asserts that an unreal fiction cannot be a cause. He avers further that neither cause nor origination can be denied without doing violence to our experience. Nāgārjuna's argument is similar by implication. "Things are not produced by themselves", is the first proposition. Candrakirti quotes the comment of Buddha-Palita on it as follows: Things are not produced by themselves, because production of it will be futile. A jar which is existent has no occasion for producing itself. If the effect is already there, causal operation to bring it into existence is bound to be a futility. Besides, the admission of this possibility will lead to an infinite regress. An existing thing will have to be vested with existence and the second existence will stand in the same predicament and thus there will be no end of the process. The absurdity is obvious in this position. A thing, which is in existence and has thus existence as its intrinsic character, does not stand in need of the good offices of a cause to make its existence secure by another existence.

This argument, of course, is directed against the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *Satkāryavāda* which has been elaborately dealt with by us in the previous section. The strength of the Sāṅkhya's thesis lies in the fact that the opposite alternative, that a non-entity is produced, is untenable. But an effect is not and cannot be entirely identical with the cause. This has been elaborately discussed in Chapter VIII of the *Mūla Mādhyamika Kārikā*. It has been shown that an existent cannot be the maker of a real existence. An effect which is existent cannot be made existent by an agent. The opposite possibility that a non-existent is produced is also not capable of being entertained. If the effect is non-existent, there need be no cause. In this way Nāgārjuna has shown that neither the cause nor the effect can be designated as existent or non-existent. This amounts to the refutation of both the Sāṅkhya and Nyāya theories.

1. Anyathāsiddhi śūnyasya niyatā pūrvavartitā karaṇatvaṃ"—*Bhāṣā-Pariccheda*.

The third possibility, that if a thing cannot be produced by itself or by another, it may be produced by both together, is also not free from difficulties. Of course, it is found in experience that a palanquin cannot be carried by one man, but it is easily transported by a number of persons together. But this analogy is considered by Nāgārjuna and his followers inept. Two things can jointly produce an effect only if each of them contributes its quota to the production of the effect. But if each is found to be incompetent, the combination of a number of such ineffective things cannot have any efficiency regarding the effect in question. For instance, if between two persons none of them is found to be responsible for the murder of a person, the two cannot be held guilty[1]. Moreover, the incompetency and disability which attach to each will *a fortiori* affect both. If one blind man cannot see, the combination of two such blind persons will not improve the prospect. The co-operation of a number of conditions to produce an effect is successful simply because each one of these causal factors is possessed of competency. It has been found that neither self nor not-self is competent to produce an effect. If an entity other than the effect be held responsible for the production purely on the ground of its numerical difference, it is impossible to give an explanation of the fact that another thing standing in the same relation fails to exercise its causal efficiency regarding the effect. Why should not sands produce oil though they are numerically other than the oil ? The relation of otherness is therefore incompetent to account for the bearing of the cause on the effect. Thus the three alternatives that the cause is the self, not-self and two together in combination are found to fail miserably to account for the causal relationship.

Should we then conclude that things are produced without cause ? That also is not feasible. If the phenomena were produced independently of course, they would not be amenable to experience. Fictions like sky-lotus and its

"Na ca ekaikena prāṇātipāte akṛte dvābhyāṃ kṛtam iti vyapadeśo dṛṣṭaḥ" -*Mūla-Mādhyamika Vṛtti*, p. 233.

colour and smell are not perceivable, simply because they are not produced by cause. An uncaused thing will be either eternal or fictitious. Fictions are not produced by cause on account of their lack of existence. An eternal entity existing for all time does not stand in need of the services of a cause to bring it into existence. But the thing that we encounter in experience clearly stands apart from both these categories of thought. They are not existent for ever, but are found to come into existence under a set of conditions and pass out of existence. A thing that is produced cannot be eternal. Nor can they be classed with fictions, since the latter are only imaginary ideas. The hypothesis that things occur fortuitously cannot explain the irresistible tendency of the human mind which asks for an explanation of an occurrence. Every event must have a cause; this is an axiomatic articles of faith. Furthermore, it is the quest for cause that has led to the discoveries of science. If things could occur irrespective of cause one cannot have control over them. Men have discovered many things which are essential for the maintenance of existence by observation and experiment. So they can produce fire by the assemblage of the requisite conditions whenever they want it. Furthermore, all our moral and religious observances are inspired by the belief that they are productive of wholesome results. Good actions (*Kuśala dharma*) produce good results. Sinful actions lead to misery. They do so because the law of causation governing these activities is universal, necessary and unalterable. If these events were freaks of chance and coincidences, no sane man could be expected to undertake the arduous process of practising moral and religious discipline. So belief in causation is an ineradicable attitude of the human mind, no matter whether it concerns the physical, moral or spiritual planes of actitivity.

The conclusion of Nāgārjuna that events are neither produced by themselves, nor by others, nor by their joint co-operation, nor independently of cause, is inspired and supported by logical considerations. Nāgārjuna concludes that events are not produced at all. This conclusion is based

on the metaphysical impossibility of the relation of cause and effect. In the empirical field even an arch sceptic like Nāgārjuna has to admit that occurrence of things cannot be explained without having recourse to the causal law. But one has reached the acme of perfection and by the conquest of the moral plane, one becomes stationed in a plane which does not stand in need of further development. This apex of spiritual acme according to Nāgārjuna is reached by the realization of *Śuñyatā*, a stage which is beyond the operation of causal law. According to the Vedantist of Śankara school the highest perfection is reached when one becomes identified with the infinite Brahman, which is limitless in being, knowledge and bliss. From this absolute standpoint one realises that causality is a provisional law which though not ulimate, has unabrogable validity on the side of perfection. We deliberately refrain from further elaboration. Nāgārjuna has refuted the assumption that though a cause may not be productive of effect, a causal operation can do. To this also the four-fold dialectic of self, not-self, their combination and non-cause to the causal operation and the result is equally disastrous for the believer in absolute validity of causation. As a matter of fact, causation is an empirical law and holds in the plane of change. If there be a sphere which is beyond change, the law of causation will have no *raison d' etre*. Nāgārjuna asserts this sphere to consist in *Śūnyatā*, a concept which has been a centre of controversy as to whether it connotes a state of being or non-being. In point of fact absolute being and absolute non-being are equally indefinable. But the Upaniṣadic Brahman is undoubtedly the highest reality, the plenum of existence. It must be left an open question "whether the *Śūnyatā* which literally means voidity" is capable of being equated with absolute being or non-being. The difficulty of logical appraisal of this intractable concept lies in the consideration that all predication, either positive or negative, must of necessity be repugnant and alien to it. For a stickler in precision of terminology our description of *Śūnyatā* as a metaphysical concept is bound to be a misnomer. Both Nāgārjuna and the Vedantists agree on the point that the ultimate truth,

call it Brahman or Śūnyatā, is only accessible to the realization of the mystic and bound to elude conceptual thought.[1]

Dharmakirti's Appraisal of Causal Relation

Dharmakīrti wrote a treatise called *Sambandha Parikṣā* which is available in Tibetan translation only. But fortunately a large number of verses practically constituting of the whole text, have been quoted in extent in the *Prameya Kamala Mārtanda*. Dharmakirti affords the thesis that all relations are subjective constructions which are imposed upon the objective world for the necessity of giving consistency to the contents of our experience. Causal relation is no exception to this rule. Even if we concede for the sake of argument that causal relation is governed by a factual objective law, we will have to admit per force that it will remain unknown and unknowable by the limited resources of the human mind. We may perceive the antecedent or the consequent or both together, but all these perceptions are concerned with the terms as they are by themselves. The causal relation eludes our perception. It may be urged that perception of fire and smoke together in the kitchen gives glimpse of the causal relation between them. But this contention is thought by Dharmakīrti as only an argument of despair. Togetherness does not give any advantage over the terms perceived in isolation. The pen and paper may be perceived together, but that does not give evidence of their causal relation. Nor can successive perception of the two terms envisage the causal relation. Each cognition has one term for its content and the difference of content of the cognitions cannot allow them to be identified. It has been contended that though two perceptions remain different, our organs re-inforced by the memory of the two cognitions can give rise to a perceptual judgment of causal relation between the two terms. But this argument is considered by Dharmakirti as opposed to the Law of Uniformity of Nature which lies at the back of the causal relation. Like causes produce like effects. Our organs of perception are in-

1. *Nava Nalanda Mahavihara*, Research Vol. I, p. 3.

capable of envisaging causal relation, because the terms are perceived independently. Now, if we suppose that they can transcend this incapacity by re-inforcement afforded by memory, this supposition would rather lay the axe at the root of causal relation. If there be no uniformity in causal operation, the causal law would become freakish and unpredictable. But predictability is supposed to be the prerogative of causality.

The perception of concomitance in agreement (*Anvaya*) and in difference (*Vyatireka*) has been supposed to afford insight into the causal relation. But perception gives knowledge of the terms and not of the relation. Togetherness, whether perceived or effected by memory has little bearing upon causal relation. As regards perception of concomitance in difference, it is nothing but the fact that the terms are not perceived. 'No fire, no smoke', means neither fire nor smoke is perceived, but an empty locus. So perception or non-perception together does not have any advantage over the isolated perception of the terms.

Furthermore, the causal relation is not confined to the observed date, but believed to hold good between two classes of entities without fail and universally. These two traits of universality and necessity cannot be supposed to be cognised by perception. The incapacity of perception can be understood by the analysis of the causal relation. What is the cause ? It is that which possesses the power to produce the effect. But power is not amenable to perception. It can be inferred from the effect.[1] But inference is possible only if the necessary and universal relation between the middle term and the major term is known before. We can infer causal power from the effect only if we are forearmed with the knowledge that power and effect are necessarily related and so the relation will hold in all times and places. But this is obviously beyond the competency of perceptional cognition. The conclusion irresistibly follows that causality, even if it be real and objective, cannot be known either by perception or by inference The necessity and universality which characterise the causal

1. Kāryānumeyā śakitḥ.

law must therefore be understood as subjective construction or a way of thought. It has nothing to do with objective reality and even if its objectivity is conceded it must remain *eo ipso* unknown and unknowable.[1]

The Jain Theory of Causal Relation and Criticism of Dharmakirti's Destructive Polemic

Dharmakirti's fundamental objection to relation and to causal relation proceeds from twofold assumption : (1) relation consists in dependence of one term or another, (2) relation is consequent upon the service and good office rendered by one to the other. From the first proposition he derives the conclusion that relation is not possible between two independently existent facts. When the terms exist independently one cannot be supposed to depend upon another for its existence and so there can be no relation between them. (3) Relation being consequent upon service or benifaction conferred by one upon the other, it is not intelligible how can an existent render service to a non-existent. The relation of cause and effect is supposed to hold between an existent and a non-existent. But neither of the two conditions dependence or bestowal and reception of benefit, is conceivable between an antecedent and a subsequent event.[2] Two existing facts are independent of one another and as regards the effect which is to come into existence, it is not conceivable that it would stand in need of the benefit to be conferred by the cause. So causal relation is only an ideal construction of thought and not a factual objective assessment.

The denial of causal relation is based upon the lack of synchronism. But the Jain maintains that neither the synchronism nor succession is the essential character of causality. Causality is a relation of determination. The effect is that, whose coming into being, is determined by the being of another. The

1. *The Jain Philosophy of Non-Absolutism*, Chapter VII.
2. Pāratantryaṃ hi sambandhaḥ, siddhe kā paratantratā ?
Parāpekṣā hi sambandhaḥ, so san kathaṃ apekṣate ?
Saṃs ca sarvanīrāśaṃso bhāvah kathaṃ apekṣate ?—*NKC*, pp. 305-307. *The Jain Philosophy of Non-Absolutism.*

determinant is called the cause and the determined is the effect. The determinant may be synchronous or separated by an interval. In the case of clay and jar the clay is found to continue and synchronise with the jar. In the case of death following beheading there is a gap or interval. The essential character of causality is, therefore, found in the necessity of determination. Of course, time plays an important role. The cause is the prior event and the effect is subsequent to it.

The earlier is followed by the latter and the necessity of sequence is index of an inner necessity and not an accident. It is not admitted that the cause exercises an occult influence upon the effect. Nor is it admitted that the cause exercises an activity upon the effect and thus does a good office to the latter. The necessity of sequence is the characteristic feature. It is an ultimate law and cannot be made more intelligible by other simpler laws. If, however, a more ultimate explanation be needed, the Jain regards it as a case of identity in difference. As regards material causation the effect is the modification of the cause and as such, is neither wholly identical with nor different from the cause. The cause and the effect qua substance are the same, but they differ qua qualities. The Sāṅkhya Theory of Causation is also based on identity in difference. The cause qua substance changes into the effect. As regards the cases of causal operation in which the two events are separated by an interval, even there this law holds good. A man is beheaded and dies. Death is consequent upon a change in the body of the man and beheading or any such circumstance is only the occasion. The Jain's conception of reality is that a real is a dynamic principle which is constantly changing. Change implies birth of a new mode, death of the old and persistence of the entity throughout the transitions. Causality is thus a consequence of the intrinsic change. This is also the position of the Sāṇkhya philosophy. It may, however, be asked what is the occasion of the change. The Jain affirms in reply that change is integral to a real and the stimulus is also seated in the real *per se*. As regards the particular direction and quality of the change, it may be due to an external circumstance. But the external occasion becomes a necessary part and parcel of the changing

substance. The two become related by way of identity in difference, because all relations are cases of identity in difference. Being and change are necessary traits of a real and so the question, why should a thing change, is as unanswerable as the question why should it be, what it is, that is to say, why should it have being as its character.

Let us sum up the sceptic's argument. Relation is between two terms and if these terms are real in their own right, neither of them depends upon the other. This means absence of relation. If there be no relation possible between reals, much less there can be relations between a real and an unreal or between two unreals. The effect is not real before its existence and as such it is unreal and there can be no relation between a cause which is real and effect which is unreal. But these premises are not in consonance with facts. There can be no causal relation between two existents. But there is no incompatibility for other relations which actually do exist. As regards causality the sceptic's contention may have plausibility. But there also the sceptic is guilty of over-simplification. Of course, the effect is not as real as the cause, but it is not unreal like a fiction. The effect exists as a potentiality in the cause and so the question of dependence is not absurd. Were not the effect dependent upon the cause, it could come into existence even when the cause was absent. If nothing were produced, it would be either eternal like unproduced space or a fiction like a square circle. But an effect is neither of the two. It must be explained and not explained away. The effect is not non-entity even before its origination. It is real so far as it is identical with the causal substance. It is existent and non-existent both. The charge of contradiction springs from abstract logic which gives wide berth to experience. But abstract logical tendency has to be checked by the verdict of experience which is the ultimate source of knowledge of existence of things and their relation. There is a contradiction in the conception of square circle or a barren woman's son, because the two are not found together. But if experience endorses the relation of identity in difference, it cannot be scouted as contradiction. As has been observed before the effect is only a modification of the cause. It is the

old cause plus something new. In causal operation the cause continues into the effect. There is a change, no doubt, and change means the death of the old mode and the birth of the new. The self which was feeling unhappy is now feeling happy. One may interpret it with much plausibility that the unhappy self has ceased to be when the happy self comes into being. But a real is a continuant. It persists through birth and death of the modes and this makes the predication of birth and death of the continuant possible. The denial of this estimation of real will lead to the conclusion that things are not real at all. Either pure negation or pure affirmation are the alternatives left. The former is the position of the Śūnyavādin and the latter is of Vedanta. The Vedantist dismisses the plurality as an appearance and affirms absolute-being as the underlying reality. The Śūnyavādin dismisses both. Pure voidity is the only thing. The Jain is accused of paradox, but the paradox, in Śūnyavāda is not less pronounced.

These considerations have compelled the Buddhist and also the Vedantist to accord a provisional validity to experience. In the ultimate reality change is only an appearance and illusion. The Jains, like other realists, refuse to be bamboozled into the admission of two spheres of reality, one provisional (*Sāmbṛtika*) and the other ultimate (*Pārmārthika*). The concession is only a sop to Cerberus.

We have dwelt upon the Jain view at some length. Our apology is that the Jain is an exponent of very ancient doctrine of *Bhedābheda* which is to be accepted as the estimation of the plurality of the world, if one is not prepared to endorse the absolute negativism of Nāgārjuna or the pure undivided infinite unchanging reality, the Brahman of Vedanta. As regards the theory of momentariness of things which is endorsed by Dharmakīrti, it will transpire on examination that he is disloyal to experience and logic alike. He makes causal efficiency the criterion of reality and deduces from this foundational concept, the conclusion that reals are momentary in existence, that is to say, they exist for one moment and inevitably perish in the next. In the *Sambandha Parīkṣā* he has denounced causality as a purely subjective idea. The momentariness of a real subject-

ive mental phenomenon or an objective fact is the logical outcome of the doctrine of causal efficiency. The Śūnyavadin is honest in his logic. We can understand his position of absolute negativism as the result of his logical approach. We can understand the Vedantist, who, in conformity with logic and experience, establishes the reality of one principle. But Dharmakīrti denounces experience and logic both. He ought to have confronted the dialectic, whether a thing is existent or non-existent. The Śūnyavādin votes for the latter, whereas the Vedantist chooses to endorse the former. In advocating momentary consciousness as the only reality in his *Vijñānavāda* he seems to give wide berth to logic and experience both. If causal efficiency be an unreal fiction there is no ground for believing in momentary consciousness.

In logic he has made causality as the prop and foundation of necessary universal concomitance.[1] But if causality be a subjective construction of thought the possibility of universal and necessary concomitance (*Abinābhāva*) is to be jettisoned without a mental reservation. Without necessary concomitance of the major and the middle terms there can be no inference and no reasoning. Without the help of reasoning Dharmakīrti cannot prove his position. He will be constrained to go to the camp of the Śūnyavādin or the Vedantist. But he seems to steer a middle course which is untenable according to his own logic.

The Early Formulation of Pratitya Samutpada in Pali Canonical and Exegetical Literature

Buddhaghosa has discussed the doctrine of *Pratitya Samutpāda* in Chapter XVII of the *Visuddhimagga* in all its bearings and implications in accordance with his method of detailed analysis, examination of the text and convincing arguments. He has analysed the meaning of the expression "*Paṭicca*", the prefix '*Saṃ*' and '*Uppāda*'. The whole word sets forth the law of causation as understood by the Buddhists

1. "Kārya kārāṇabhāvāt vā svabhāvāt vā niyāmakāt.
Abinābhāv niyamādarśanāt napi darśanāt."

of the Theravāda school. The '*Paṭicca*' is a *gerund*. Its Sanskrit equivalent is '*Pratītya*'. The gerund and the main verb relates to the same grammatical subject. It focuses attention on the fact that effect as an event comes into existence neither in isolation nor in independence of the previous event styled as the cause. There is a necessary relation between them. Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the suttas which speak of '*Paṭiccasamuppāda*' bears evidence to the fact that there was wide divergence of interpretation of this momentous expression and the result was an embarrassing confusion regarding the character of causality. As we have observed before, the Buddha propounded the doctrine of *Paṭicca Śamuppāda* (*Pratityasamutpāda*) in order to demolish the heresy of the Niyativādins, i.e., the fatalist, that the order of events is fixed and predetermined and no amount of human exertion can do away with this predestined course of events. The Buddha also was firmly poised against the materialist who held that there was no logical or ontological connection between what passes for a cause and what passes for an effect. We should take facts as they are without wasting our energy on the futile task of discerning an occult nexus. Fortunately this matter has been thoroughly discussed and expounded by Dr. N. Tatia in his illuminating article 'Paṭicca Śamuppāda' published in the *Nava Nalanda Research*, Vol. II. He has judiciously avoided the verbal controversy introduced in the *Visuddhimagga* and drawn out of it the points and issues which are possessed of philosophical value. I express my sense of gratitude to the learned author of this article for adopting his terminology which is more accurate and lucid than that found in the English translation of the *Visuddhimagga*.

Buddhaghosa has quoted the formula of the law of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* from the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, which is to all intents and purposes the *locus classicus*. Buddhaghosa lays stress on the fact that when an event occurs on account of the antecedent event with uniformity and regularity in several instances and does not occur in the absence of the antecedent, it must be understood that there is a necessary and determinate relation between them. The proposition '*Uppādā va tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā tathāgatānām ṭhitāva sā dhātu dhammaṭhitattā dhammaniyāmatā idappaccayatā*' gives the clue to the infallibility of the causal relation. Unfortunately, the English translation of it, both in the '*Kindred Sayings*' and in the '*Path of Purity*' is not quite clear. The interpretation of this passage in the Sanskrit version seems more cogent. The three characteristics distinguish the causal relation from that of accidental coincidence. In the view of the enlightened ones (*Tathāgatas*) the fact that there is origination (of effect when the cause is present before it) and non-origination (of the effect in the absence of the cause) the law states that the effect's existence follows from that of the cause, this is the first characteristic of *Dhammaṭhitattā*. The second, '*Dhammaniyāmatā*' states the truth that the cause determines the effect.[1] The third characteristic is '*Idap accayatā*', which stresses the fact that the relation is determinate. Buddhaghoṣa explains the four characteristics '*Tathatā*', '*Avitathatā*', *Anaññathatā*' and '*Idap accayatā*' stated in the Samyutta Nikāya as follows :

The characteristic of *Tathatā* (regularity of sequence) expresses the fact that specific effects come into existence on account of specific conditions and that they are fixed and the diminution or excess in the number of the factors is not capable of bringing about the effect in question. This is the positive characteristic of the causal law. The second characteristic of *Avitathatā* (absence of irregularity) consists in the lack of failure of the emergence of the effect in the compresense of all the causal factors and conditions. And this is the negative aspect of causation. The third characteristic of '*Anaññathatā*' is the absence of promiscuity, that is, the absence of the emergence of effects from factors other than its proper conditions. The fourth characteristic of '*Idappaccayatā*' is determinacy. The relation of cause and effect is determinate. This precludes the possibility of the plurality of causes. For every determinate set of effects there is one determinate set of conditions. This law of determinism would be abrogated if any effect could

1. Cf The *Bhāmatī* and the *Kalpatrau*, S.V. 22/19 Brahma Sūtra.

come out from any and every antecedent event."[1]

The Four-fold Naya: The causal law in operation may be considered differently from different logical approach and each leads to a correct appraisal of the relation of cause and effect. The operation of the causal law in a series of events in which the antecedent is found to determine the consequent gives reason for the comprehension of the series as one continuum. This explains the continuity and precludes the abrupt termination of the continuum. If the cause is there, there must be the effect. Thus ignorance (*Avijja*) as the primal condition gives rise to moral predispositions (*Saṅkhāra*) and so on to birth and death, and rebirth and redeath. This necessary continuity of the series of causes and effects makes away with the heresy of annihilationism (*Uccheda diṭṭhi*).

The second appraisal of the causal relation is due to the consideration of the characteristic difference of the cause and effect and is '*Nānatta naya*' (the plurality view). The failure to take note of the numerical and qualitative difference of the cause and effect in a continuum gives rise to the fallacy of eternalism (*Sassata diṭṭhi*). But those who fail to notice the necessary nexus between the cause and effect in one continuum and magnify the difference to the same extent as the difference of events in different series, fall a prey to the fallacy of annihilationism.

The third characteristic of the causal law is the absence of conscious motivation and teleological exertion. It is called '*Avyāpāra naya*'. The events follow one another without involving the exercise of activity of an agent. Thus in the psychical plane the individual loosely regarded as a conscious agent consists of a series of events as unfolded in the twelve linked chain of causation (*Dvadasaṅga nidāna bhavacakra*). The omission of the understanding of the lack of teleological activity gives rise to the fallacy of one soul. But in point of fact it is nothing but a series of events or states. There is on the other hand the danger of reading into this continuum bereft of conscious teleological activity the fact that there is no action

1. Paṭicca Samuppāda, Dr. Tatia, *Nalanda Research, Vol. I.*

which can be regarded as the cause of effect. The sequence of events bereft of activity exercised by the antecedent upon the consequent is equivalent to the admission that the series of events is mechanical. This leads to the fallacy of inactionism (*Akriyāvāda*). Human exertion in the moral plane is likened by these thinkers to the abortive struggle of a man against odds. The Buddha steers a middle course between these two extreme views. There is no unitary soul, but a continuum which does duty for the moral agent. Moral endeavour and exertion are not fruitless, because, by their very existence the effect is produced.

The fourth characteristic is called '*Evaṃ dhammatā naya*' (the terminacy view). That there is a specific cause for a specific effect and the causal relation holds without fluctuation, cannot be denied without infidelity to truth. The realisation of this characteristic of causality lays the axe at the fallacy of uncaused production (*Ahetuka diṭṭhi*) and also the heresy of the denial of moral responsibility.

We do not purposely go into the details of the classification of causes given by Buddhaghoṣa. The matter has been thoroughly discussed and expounded by Dr. Tatia and we refer the curious reader to the exposition of the Theravāda conception given in it. We invite the attention of scholars to the implications of the Theravāda interpretations of *Pratītya Samutpāda*. In the first place Buddhaghoṣa is a believer in the objective validity of the causal law. The cause is real, the effect is real and their relation is one of determination. The denial of exercise of activity by the cause on the effect avoids the controversy regarding the do-how. How does the cause produce the effect, is an idle query. Buddhaghoṣa does not leave any loophole for reading into the causal operation a metaphysical theory such as advocated by the Sankhya school. Further, he believes that the law of causation (*Paṭicca Samuppāda*) governs the entire phenomenal order both on the physical and the moral planes. Everything is, therefore, impermanent (*Anicca*) save and except '*Nibbāna*'. But, though impermanent, things have reality and logical validity. He, therefore, does not raise the issues which have been made by Nāgārjuna

the ground for denying the objective status of the causal law. That which is impermanent and that which is produced by cause are unreal appearances according to Nāgārjuna. The implicit pre-supposition of Nāgārjuna seems to be self-same dictum of the Vedantist that a thing which has existence as its inalienable characteristic cannot surrender it under any circumstances. A thing is either existent or non-existent by its nature. A non-existent can never be made existent and an existent can never be made non-existent. But events appear to come into existence and become extinct. Nāgārjuna firmly believes that there is nothing in the physical or the psychical plane which is not subject to the Law of Causation (*Paṭicca Samuppāda*). So everything is bound to be impermanent and perishable and as such must be determined to be unmitigated appearance due to the inherent nescience (*Ajñāna*). The pursuit of this line of thought has led Nāgārjuna to make dangerous assertions. The Buddha was also a phantom and so also his preaching and the Four Noble Truths. Buddhaghoṣa is too careful and cautious to fall into the trap. Why should a specific cause produce a specific effect? To this Buddhaghoṣa answers that such is the law (*Evamdhammatā*). It follows as a corollary that Buddhaghoṣa believes in the verdict of experience. He has formulated the organ of discovery of causal law as consisting in the application of the test of the Joint Method of Agreement and Difference. 'A' is 'B' is, 'A' is not 'B' is not. Thus if there is ignorance there are moral dispositions. If ignorance ceases, moral dispositions cease to be. This has been set forth with iteration and reiteration in the *Samyutta Nikāya*. The presence of the cause entails the presence of the effect; and the absence of the cause necessarily entails the absence of the effect. This truth was realised by the Buddha and he speaks from the testimony of his own experience. He does not seek to prove the universality and necessity of the causal law from logical considerations as has been done by philosophers. That 'A' is the cause of 'B', is and can be known by experience alone and not by pure logic independent of experience. Logic will have its play after the causal relation has been empirically established.

Section II

Ariya Saccāni (The Four Noble Truths)

We have dealt at length on the Law of Causation called *Partityasamutpāda*, which is the ruling principle of the phenomenal world. The Buddha's interest was not metaphysical or scientific, but supremely religious and spiritual. He preached four cardinal principles which are called Four Noble Truths, Pali, *Cattāri Ariya Saccāni*. The expression '*Ariya Sacca*' has been etymologically explained by Buddhaghoṣa as follows :

They are called '*Ariya*', Sanskrit '*Ārya*', because they are realised by the *Āryas*, i.e., Buddhas. They are also called '*Ariya*', or noble, because these truths are revealed to the Buddha and also because he attained the Buddhahood, i.e. enlightenment by thoroughly realising these truths. They are also characterised as '*Ariya*', because they are not liable to be proved otherwise, i.e., discrepant with fact. They hold good for ever and are never found to lapse.[1] Now, Buddha has declared these Four Noble Truths (or to be literal 'Truths discovered' by the Noble ones'), viz., *Dukkha* (suffering), *Dukkha Samudaya* (cause of suffering), *Dukkha Nirodha* (cessation of suffering) and *Dukkha Nirodhagāmini Paṭipadā* (the way leading to the achievement of cessation of suffering).

In the previous chapter we have already dealt with the problem whether the categorical assertion of the Buddha that our worldly existence is riddled with suffering from end to end, proceeds from a pessimistic attitude or critical evaluation of its character. There are thinkers in the modern times who affirm the proposition that the evil that is found in the world is temporary and transient and can be replaced by happiness by collective and individual effort. If we are committed to the conclusion that suffering in this world is ineradicable, there will be no room for philanthrophic activity and justification for legislation for social reform. In reply to this contention we may observe that the Buddha was not interested in social

1. Cf "Yasmā-panitāni...tasma ariyasaccānī tivuccantī," *VM*, p. 346 (20-22).

reform, but he was opposed to this activity. He was rather of the opinion that by social reform with the help of law enforced by the police and executive officers, we can only mitigate the evil. But, because, all the phenomena that we encounter are transitory, events having a distinct date of its origin must automatically become extinct. Transitory happiness is only a prelude to intensified suffering. It is good that we should try to add to the amenities of life with the help of science and technology. These may help an individual to develop his intellectual and spiritual powers and have their justification in so far as they contribute to the emergence of intellectual, moral and spiritual strength. The Buddha has nothing but unqualified contempt for the man who is addicted to the pleasures of senses (*Kāmsukhallikā*). Man's life is not an opportunity for satisfaction of carnal desires. That the Buddha condemned with equal vehemence the practice of self-mortification and torture of the flesh and indiscriminate self-indulgence, show that he was not averse to rational enjoyment of the amenities of civilized life. Man must be free from the pangs of hunger and thirst. He must eat nourishing food with a view to invigorating his intellectual and moral powers. Starvation only leads to spiritual inanition. But he left the problem of social amelioration and the preservation of law and order to the guardians of the state. He did not want to subvert the state or society by advocating civil disobedience. The religion that he preached does not stand in opposition to these activities of the leaders who seek to do away with injustice and tyranny. His supreme interest, however, was the achievement of the conquest of evil and suffering caused by natural forces or man's folly. There must not be any trace of pain and nothing sort of total cessation of pain can be the consummation of man's life. Even an iota of evil and suffering will mar our happiness. The Buddha did not lay stress on infinite, perfect and completest happiness as done in the Upaniṣads, but, at times he calls that the ultimate deliverance is a state of beatitude, 'Nibbāna' which is the Supreme Bliss.[1]

1. "Nibbānaṃ paramam sukham"—Sukha Vagga, *Dhammapada*, Verse 7.

This Supreme Bliss cannot be realized without going through the discipline which is laid down as the condition precedent in the Eightfold Path. That the world is not perfect and is vitiated by pain of various sorts and descriptions, is accepted as the incontestable datum. But, because this pain is caused and comes into being when certain conditions are in operation, affords the proof that it is a passing phenomenon. Pain is transitory as much as pleasure. It comes and ceases to be But what is essential is to make away with the possibility of its re-emergence. This can be done if we know its etiology. A disease cannot be cured unless we remove the cause of it. What is the cause of it ? The Buddha assigned the origination of pain to craving (*Tanhā*, Sanskrit '*Tṛṣnā*), for, the gratification of our desires, particularly sensual desires (*Kāma taṇhā*), our hankering after the prolongation of existence (*Bhava Taṇhā*) and the opposite desire for cessation of painful existence (*Vibhava taṇhā*) are the cause of pain and suffering. Unless this craving is extinguished there will be pain and suffering in one form or another. The perfect man must not allow himself to be assailed by any craving or hankering. It is the rot of all sufferings. As a tree, though cut asunder, again springs up if the root is not destroyed, so suffering will recur again and again unless craving, which is the root of it, is totally destroyed.[1] How can we destroy craving?—by cultivation of dispassion (*Virāga*) which can be mastered by constant inspection of the vanity and impermanence of the good things of the world. With the perfection of detachment one is set on the path to ultimate deliverance, i.e., *Nibbāna*. This is called total cessation of suffering. Buddhaghoṣa asserts that this total cessation (*Dukkha nirodha*) without any possibility of recrudescence is called *Nibbāna*, reaching which craving ceases surely and irrevocably. It is also called surrender or shedding of desire, abandonment, emancipation and detachment. This is real and exists, not

1. "Yathā pi mūle anupaddave dalhe chinno pi rukkho punareva rūhati Evampi tanhānusaye anūhate nibbattati dukkhamidaṃ punappunaṃ" —*VM*, p. 354, *Khn*, Vol. I, p. 49.

liable to lapse, comforting and reassuring, whose emergence is not conditioned by any antecedent cause or which arises on the cessation of the worldly career.[2] *Nibbāna* has been described as cessation, because by attaining it the worldly career with all its afflictions and imperfections ceases to be. It will be a mistake to suppose that *Nibbāna* is annihilation. It is styled unique, because it is attainable only by one who has undergone the course of spiritual discipline, namely, the Eightfold Path. It is not an originated event, because there is no antecedent condition. But it may be argued that, when *Nibbāna* emerges after the practice of discipline, it cannot be regarded as an existent fact. But this is also a mistake. The discipline only leads to the attainment of consummation, but does not produce it. It is not an event engendered and so it is devoid of decay and death. Being free from origination, decay and death it is eternal (*Niccaṃ*). It is immaterial (*Arūpa*). It is one entity, because, in it there does not exist any distinction of the Buddhas. It is realizable in the present life by the saints when the aggregates of personality (*Upādānakkhandha*) are not wholly dissolved and so it is called '*Nibbāna*' with the remainder (*Sopādisesa Nibbāna*). But, when the final realization (*Carimacitta*) emerges these *Khandhas* (aggregates) are dissolved for ever and there is no chance of their re-combination. This is called *Anupādisesa nibbāna*. It is realizable by the saint who has the ability to fulfil the discipline and acquire final enlightenment.

We cannot help adverting to an interesting discussion introduced by Buddhaghoṣa in the *Visuddhimagga* in this context. It throws light on the nature of *Nibbāna*. A school of thinkers contended that *Nibbāna* is a fiction like the hare's horn, because it is not perceived or experienced. But this contention is untenable since *Nibbāna* is realizable by the pursuit of requisite discipline. As thoughts of other men are discerned by a saint and not by an average man of the world, so the experience of ordinary people who are uninitiated into spiritual discipline, cannot be made the ground of denying

2. *Ibid*, pp. 355/66.

its reality. If there be no *Nibbāna*, all the spiritual practices beginning with the cultivation of Right Views and Moral Discipline (*Sila*) will become entirely barren of result. It has been contended that the religious discipline is not barren, because it leads to nullity of being (*Abhāvapāpakattā*).

All doubts regarding the reality or unreality of *Nibbāna* should be set at rest by the *ipse dixit* of the Buddha : "O monks, there exists an unborn, unbecome, unmade and the uncomposed state."[1] This uncreated and unmade entity is *Nibbāna*, by attaining which a man is delivered from metempsychosis.

Section III

Aṭṭhangika Magga (*Eightfold path*) : *Morality and Religion in Buddhism*

We have already stated that the Buddha claimed the credit for discovering the ideal of ultimate freedom and emancipation from physical, intellectual and moral limitations which he termed as *Nibbāna*.

In the Pali tradition we find that a large number of people lived under spiritual head. These mendicant friars had no need to care for their living, but only for the best way to achieve their religious and spiritual aspirations embodied in *Nibbāna*. We have seen that the sixty-two heretical doctrines and modes of life recorded in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* were condemned by the Buddha as unprofitable and also as wrongly oriented leading to inferior grades of life. These heretical schools formed a brotherhood of ascetics consisting of the *Niganṭhas* or those practising extreme asceticism, of the *Ājivakas* or the naked sects professing fatalism and predestiny, and of several others. Buddha denounced the Ājivaka doctrines without any qualification as also he condemned extreme asceticism, as we have already discussed in the first and the fourth chapters. Now if we are to believe the biographical records of

1. "Atthi bhikkhave ajātaṃ, abhūstaṃ, akataṃ, asaṃkhataṃ"— Itivuttaka, *KhN*. I, p. 207 (Ajāta Suttaṃ)

the Buddha we find that Buddha tried this course of ascetic discipline and found it not only useless but detrimental to the realization of the highest truth. Self-mortification (*Attakilamathānuyoga*) was regarded by the Buddha as debasing debilitation of one's intellectual and spiritual powers. The other extreme of self-indulgence (*Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyoga*) in which a man abandons himself to the satisfaction of his animal passions also meets with equal condemnation, as we have already said. He found that the pursuance of the middle course (*Majjhimāpaṭipadā*) between these two extremes was profitable and conducive to the achievement of the highest aspirations of a human being. The Buddha laid stress on the importance of gaining mastery over the natural impulses for self-rectification. One must conquer the passions and achieve perfect mastery over the animal propensities as the primary condition of spiritual progress. The purification of the mind was the condition precedent of spiritual enlightenment which makes a man free from all bonds and limitations. For the achievement of this mental purification and self-mastery leading to the final and ultimate realization of the truth the Buddha prescribed a code of moral and spiritual discipline which is summed up in the Eightfold Path (*Aṭṭhaṅgika Maggo*) chalked out by him. This Eightfold Path consists of three stages : *Paññā* (enlightenment), *Sīla* (correct and righteous moral conduct) and *Samādhi* (Meditation). The entire Buddhist religion is summed up in this code of eightfold discipline. These stages are enumerated as follows : *Samādiṭṭhi* (Right Views), *Sammāsaṃkappo* (Right Determination and Resolution), *Sammāvācā* (Right Speech), *Sammākammanto* (Right Conduct), *Sammā Ājīvo* (Right Livelihood), *Sammāvāyāmo* (Right Effort and Exertion), *Sammāsati* (Right Attentiveness or Mindfulness) and *Sammā Samādhi* (Right Meditation).

The order of enumeration in the canon is neither logical nor chronological. The first is rather the last outcome of the discipline. In the interest of logical understanding the scheme of spiritual life as embodied in the formula may be classified under three heads, viz., (A) *sīla* (Moral Discipline), (B) *samādhi* (*citta*), i.e., life of deep meditation and (C) *paññā* (the True Vision of the nature of the ultimate goal and destiny). We take up *Sīla* first.

(A) *Sīla* : It consists of *Sammāvācā* (Right Speech), *Sammākammanto* (Right Conduct) and *Sammā Ājīvo* (Right Livelihood)[1]. These three stedia of moral discipline have been elaborately dealt with in the *Brahmajāla* and *Sāmaññaphala* Suttas of the *Digha Nikāya* and each of the three has been divided into three stages, namely, Minor Morality (*Cūla Sīla*) Medium Morality (*Majjhima Sīla*) and Major Morality (*Mahāsīla*). From the prologue and epilogue it appears that the Buddha regarded them rather as means than the end. The average run of people fail to distinguish between the means and the end. It is neither fair to original Buddhism nor correct appraisal to think that Buddhism was an ethical religion pure and simple with no ulterior goal. Though Buddhism did not believe in personal god and efficacy of prayers and sacrifices, it was not and still is not a mere code of ethics. *Nibbāṇa* was the ultimate consummation in which the individual finds the satisfaction of all his urges and aspirations.

For the sake of convenience we take up (1) *Sammā Kammanto* (Right Conduct) first. It consists of three abstinences[2], (a) Abstinence from killing (*Pānātipātā veramaṇi*), (b) Abstinence from stealing (*Adinnāndānā veramaṇi*) and (c) Abstinence from sexual intercourse (*Kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇi*).

(a) Abstinence from killing (*Pānātipātā veramaṇi*) : One must abstain from intentional killing of living beings. Non-injury to living beings (*Ahiṃsa*) has been given priority in Indian ethics. The Buddha endorsed it in principle, but his sanity and sense of proportion prevented him from succumbing to fetishism. One must not kill a living being for his own

1. "Ya cāvuso, visākha, sammāvāçā, yo ca sammākammanto, yo ca sammā ājivo imme dhammā sīlkkahandhe samgahitā"—*MN*, Vol. I, p. 371.
2. Panātipātā veramaṇi, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesumicchācārā veramaṇī, ayaṃ vuccatāvuso, sammākammanto"—*MN*, Vol. III, p. 337. *Vibhanga*, p. 285.

pleasure of the palate or satisfaction of revengeful impulse. Herein lies the root cause of the discord that arose over the serious proposal of Devadatta to introduce the strict regimen of food, raiment and habitation into the Buddhist order of monks (*Samgha*). Devadatta insisted on strict vegetarian food to be partaken of by a monk in order to enlist the respect and sympathy of the mass and classes. Buddha declined and observed that this was not necessary. What is of paramount importance is the motive and intention. If a man lives on vegetables and yet entertains ill-will (*Vyāpada*), malice and intolerance towards his fellow beings, his vow of non-injury (*Ahiṃsa*) amounts to nothing short of humbug. The Buddha did not set great stores by popular opinion which is more often inspired by emotion and irrational emotion at that. Enlightened public opinion was respected by the Buddha which is shown by his implementation of the suggestion of King Bimbisara for observance of the *Uposatha* caremonies on the full moon and the new moon days. He also forbade those practices which were calculated to give rude shock to public sentiment. But as regards vegetarianism he thought that it would be mere formality meant to enlist cheap popular admiration. We have made a digression in order to clear the cobwebs of misunderstanding and confusion generated by Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on non-violence as a political weapon. Our external practices and observances derive their moral values from the inner motive lying behind it and this is the reason why the Buddha condemned this as *Silabbata Pārāmasa* (mere ceremonialism).

The Buddha has not entered into the controversy whether prosecution of war for the defence of national freedom is to be regarded as sinful. He is not interested in the day-to-day conduct of laymen, kings and ministers who have to resort to killing enemies for the preservation of life and property and for maintenance of law and order and the integrity of the state.

The Buddha laid down his code of ethics for monks who were outside the jurisdiction of the rules and regulations of the state. The Buddhist monk was never allowed to carry

arms for self-defence against aggression. He is required to develop friendliness even towards his enemies. He must refrain from injurying life to his utmost capacity.

(b) Abstinence from stealing (*Adinnādāna veramaṇi*) : One must not take what is not offered to him. There are strict rules in the *Vinaya* as to what constitutes appropriation of unpresented things, that is to say, stealing. It is worthy of note that the Buddha did not favour the idea of individual ownership of anything, trivial or important that may be offered to a monk by the laity. He has condemned egoity (*Ahamkāra*) and possessive sense (*Mamaṃkāra*) with equal emphasis. Whatever is acquired by a monk at once belongs to the *Samgha*. But one cannot take anything without the consent and knowledge of the donor.

(*c*) Abstinence from sexual intercourse (*Kāmesumicchācārā veramaṇi*) : One must not indulge in sexual intercourse with any woman other than his own wife. As regards monk, he must live the life of a celibate and refrain from sexual intercourse. There are elaborate rules in the *Vinaya* as to what amounts to transgression of the vow of celibacy and chastity.

In addition to the abovementioned three abstinences (*Viratiyo*) which are classified under "Right Conduct" (*Sammā Kammanto*) there are the following two which also have to be observed in favour of Right Conduct: (*a*) One must avoid strong liquors and intoxicants (*Surāmeraya majjappamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇi*) and (*b*) one should never tell a lie (*Musāvādā veramaṇi*).[1] These five practices are called (*Panca Sila*) (fivefold conduct) which have to be followed both by the laity and the monk.

Then there is a long list concerning the things of worldly enjoyment from which a monk is required to abstain[2] for the maintenance of right conduct. He must refrain from causing injury to seeds and plants. He must avoid post-mid-day meal (*Vikālabhojanā paṭivirato*). He must not visit dance, music and

1. Details in Sammā Vācā dealt with in the following pagse.
2. Bijagama...chedana vadha bandhana viparamosa ālopa sahasākāra paṭi virato hoti"—Samannaphala Sutta, *DN*, Vol. I, p. 5o

variety entertainments. He must not use scents, garlands and unguents. He must not use high and costly beds. He must not accept gold or silver, raw paddy or raw meat, maiden, slaves—male or female, sheep or goat, fowls or swine, elephant or cattle, horse, mare and cultivated or fallow lands as gifts. He must not perform the job of a messenger or go-between (Sanskrit, *Kuṭṭaṇi*). He must refrain from purchasing or selling. He must not cheat a person. He must refrain from stabbing, murder, entraping birds and beasts, robbery and violence. It may be noted in this connection that without higher morals one cannot get higher thought and without higher thought one cannot attain higher insight.

(2) *Sammā Vācā* (Right Speech) : It consists of abstaining from false (*Musāvāda*), malicious (*Pisuṇāvācāya*), harsh (*Pharusāvāca*) and vain talks (*Samphappalāpā*).[1]

(*a*) Abstaining from false talks (*Musāvāda veramaṇi*): Speaking the truth is enjoined not only on the monks but also the laity. One must not swerve from it. Faithful and trustworthy he should not break his word to the people. There are various shades of truth-speaking and its transgression which have been elaborately dealt with in the *Vinaya*.

(*b*) Abstaining from malicious talks (*Pisunāvācāya veramaṇi*): One must not indulge in malicious talks and refrain from sowing discord by telling tales. On the contrary he must try to bring about concord and harmony.

(*c*) Abstaining from harsh talks (*Pharusāya vācāya veramaṇi*): One must shun harsh words and make speech unoffensive, pleasing to the ears, delightful, appealing to the heart, urbane, pleasing and favourable to the people.

(*d*) Abstaining from vain talks (*Samphappalāpā veramaṇi*): One must refrain from vain desultory talks. To the monks the Buddha said: 'whenever O monks, you assemble together, you should either talk of the righteous things or remain silent.[2]

1. "Musāvādā veramanī, pisuṇāya vācāya veramaṇi, pharusāya vācāya veramani, Samphappalāpā veramaṇi ayaṃ vuccati sammāvācā"—Vibhanga, p. 133, *MN*, II, p. 337.
2. "Sannipatitānam vo bhikkhave dvayameva karanīyam : Dhammi vā kathā, ariyo vā tunhī bhāvo"—*MNI*, p. 210.

(3) *Sammā ājivo* (Right Livelihood): A monk must not use arts and crafts as the source of livelihood. The number of such arts and crafts that are considered as *Micchā ājivo* (wrong means of livelihood) is large enough, such as palmistry, divination, augeries, sorcery, fortune-telling, sacrifice, sanke-charming, foretelling rainfall or drought and all sorts of professions which aim at proficiating people's idle curiosity and induce them to make handsome presents to the monk's practising it. Alms taking is the only source of a monk's livelihood. A spiritual aspirant must not voice his preference even for things which are necessary for the brotherhood. If he is refused he is under vow not to show his displeasure or entertain any feeling of offence against the person who fails to do his duty to the order.

The lay Buddhists also are prohibited from trading in meat, the butcher's profession (*Mansavanijjā*); from dealing in liquors (*Majjavanijjā*); from buying and selling poisonous substance, such as opium, snake-poison and other mineral and vegetable-poisons, that is to say, whatever is calculated to destroy life (*Visa Vanijjā*); from trading in living beings (*Sattavanijjā*) and from trading in arms and amunitions (*Satthavanijjā*).[1] A pure conduct (*Sila*) thus realised by refraining from all the evil deeds (*Sabbapapassa akaranaṃ*)[2] serves as the ground (*Patiṭṭha*) for the structure of Right Concentration (*Sammā Samādhi* or *Citta*)[3] in which alone the true vision of the goal and destiny is to dawn.

(*b*) *Samādhi* (Meditation): It consists of Right Effort and Exertion (*Sammā Vāyāmo*), Right Mindfulness (*Sammāsati*) and Right Meditation (*Sammāsamādhi*).[4]

1. "Pañcimā bhikkhave, vanijjā upāsakena akaranīya, katamā pañca ?—sattha—satta—mansa-majja-visa vanijja" ti—*AN*, Vol. II, p. 454.
2. *Dhammapada*, Verse 183.
3. "Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño, cittam paññamca bhāvaye"—*SamN*, Vol. I, p. 14.
4. "Yo ca sammāvāyāmo, ya ca sammā sati, yo ca sammāsamādhi, ime dhammā samadhikkhandhe saṃgahitā"—*MN*, I, p. 371.

(4) There are four types of Right Efforts (*Padhānāni*)[1] the vigorous efforts (a) to avoid (*Samvarapadhāna*) the emergence of evil mental states that have not arisen, (b) to eradicate those that have already emerged (*Pahānappadhāna*), (c) to cultivate and stimulate the wholsome mental states and dispositions that have not yet arisen (*Bhāvanappadhāna*) and (d) to maintain the wholesome ones that have already arisen and not to let them disappear, but to bring them to growth, to maturity and to the full perfection of development so that they may be his own constant mental properties (*Anurakkhanapadhāna*).

In one word cultivation of virtue is the most effective antidote to vice. The mind never remains vacant and if good thoughts are not there the evil will come to occupy the mental field. The adage "nature abhors vacuum" holds good not only of the material world but pre-eminently of the mental field.

But then how to put these efforts into practice? The Buddha, in the *Cūla Hatthipadopamā* Sutta reveals to the Brahmana Jānuśroni, "A monk sees a material shape with the eye but is not led away by the general appearance or the detail, so also he does with the other sense-organs and their objects in the like manner. He is conscious enough to guard and control the organs of senses lest the evil mental states of covetousness (*Abhijjhā*) and dejection (*Domanassa*) might penetrate. Thus he practises the efforts of checking the evils from creeping into his mind. A monk should adopt the following five practices in order to eradicate the evil thoughts accompanied with covetousness, ill-will and delusion:

"If, whilst regarding a certain object, there arise in the disciple, on account of it, evil and unwholesome thoughts connected with greed (*Lobha*), anger (*Dosa*) and delusion (*Moha*), then the disciple (1) should set aside this and gain another wholesome object, (2) or, he should reflect on the

1. "Cattāri imāni bhikkhave sammappadhānāni, sayyatthidam—samvara—pahāna—bhāvana—anurakkhana padhanāni ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave samma Vāyāmo"—*AN*, Vol. II, p. 17-18.

misery of these thoughts: 'unwholesome, truly are these thoughts, blamable are these thoughts, of painful results are these thoughts, (3) or, he should pay no attention to these thoughts, (4) or, he should consider the compound nature of these thoughts, (5) or, with teeth clenched and tongue pressed against the gums, he should with his mind restrain, suppress and root out these thoughts; and in doing so, these evil and unwholesome thoughts of greed, anger and delusion will dissolve and disappear; and the mind will inwardly become settled and calm, composed and concentrated."[1]

To arouse wholesome thoughts that have not yet arisen, the disciple strives hard, puts forth his energy, strains his mind and struggles. Thus he develops the Elements of Enlightenment (*Bojjhanga*), based on solitude, on detachment, on extinction and ending in deliverance, namely: Mindfulness (*Sati*), investigation of the law (*Dhammavicaya*), Energy (*Viriya*), Rapture (*Piti*), Tranquillity (*Passaddhi*), Concentration (*Samādhi*) and Equanimity (*Upekkhā*).

The disciple incites his will to maintain the wholesome thoughts that have already arisen and for this he keeps firmly in his mind a favourable object of concentration that has arisen, as the mental image of a skeleton, of a corpse infested by worms, of a corpse blue-black in colour, of a festering corpse, of a corpse riddled with holes, of a corpse swellen up.[2]

(5) *Sammāsati* (Right Mindfulness): *Sati* or Sanskrit '*Smṛti*' is not used in the ordinary sense of recollection or memory. In Buddhist philosophy and ethics it always connotes alertness of the mind. The spiritual aspirant must guard against inadvertence and lapse of vigilance.

It consists in looking on the body and the spirit in such a way as to remain ardent, self-possessed and mindful by overcoming hankering and dejection.

The practice of mindfulness is directed to the body in its external aspect and in its internal anatomy. But this

1. *MN*, Vol. I, p. 159 : (Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta)
2. *MN*, III, pp. 154-55.

means the spiritual aspirant sees that the body with all its constituent elements is liable to origination, decay and dissolution. The saint sees the dead body with all its abominable changes and by realizing the inevitable end of his own physique in like unenviable conditions, he ceases to be enamoured of his body or to have morbid distaste for it. In like manner he analyses the mind and its diverse transformations, good, bad and indifferent. In point of fact he is conscious of his bodily and mental acts which escape attention as automatic and reflex acts. Even his breathings—inhalation and exhalation—are constantly watched and assessed. This development of mental vigilance to its perfection prepares the saint for unrelieved and unrelaxing concentration (details vide the *Majjhimā Nikāya* Vol. I, *Satipatthāna* sutta, p. 76 ff, the gist of which is added in the foot-note).[1] The Buddha laid so much importance on the practice of Right Mindfulness (*Sammāsati upaṭṭhāna*) that he declared that its practice for seven years, nay even for seven days would enable one to achieve the highest wisdom (*Annā* or *Arhat Jñāna*) in that very life or at least the Non-Returning plane of existence (*Anāgāmita*) if the group of existence still remained.

1. Sammāsati consists of mindfulness regarding body (*Kāyānupassanā*), regarding feelings (*Vedanā*), regarding mind (*Citta*) and regarding phenomena (*Dhammānupassanā*). In one word it is Alertness regarding all that are happening within and outside the body and mind. There are six ways of practising mindfulness regarding (a) body—(i) to be alert regarding breathing (*Ānāpāna Sati*), (ii) regarding bodily movements (*Iriyāpatha*), (iii) regarding actions being performed and attended (*Sampajānakāro*), (iv) regarding thirty two impurities which the body consist of (*Paṭikūla manasikāro*), (v) regarding the Four Great Elements of which the body is composed (*Dhātu manasikāro*) and (vi) regarding the dark future of bodily transformations after death (*Asubhānusati*). So also there are five ways of practising mindfulness regarding phenomena (*Dhammānupasanā*) or the external world : (i) Alertness regarding the five obstacles of concentration (*Pancasu nīvaranesu*), (ii) regarding the five factors of clinging to existence (*Pancūpādānakkhandhesu*), (iii) regarding six bases or doors of senses (*Ajjhatikāyatanesu*), (iv) regarding the seven factors of enlightement (*Sattabojjhangesu*) and regarding the Four Noble Truths (*Catusu Ariya Saccesu*).

(6) Right Concentration (*Sammāsamādhi*) as unfolded in the four meditation or Jhānāni of this book.

Enlightenment (*Pañña*) : It consists of (1) Right Determination and Resolution (*Sammāsamkappo*) and (ii) Right View (*Sammādítthi*).[1]

(7) Right Determination and Resolution (*Sammāsamkappo*) consists in right resolution and determination to cultivate renunciation (*Nekkhamma*), benevolence or absence of ill-will (*Avyāpāda*) and kindness (*Ahiṃsā*).[2]

After listening to the discourse of the Enlightened one, a man spiritually disposed, develops the desire to renounce the worldly life since he realizes that there is little scope for full contemplation, meditation and holy life in the householder station burdened with the family obligations and duties, social activities and responsibilities and obligations to the state and the limitations of freedom imposed by law. This is the outward act as the commencement of the spiritual life. Next, he must cultivate benevolence (*Avyāpāda*). He must give up ill-will towards anybody and this absence of ill-will culminates in benevolence and universal kindness (*Ahiṃsā*). This spiritual preparation is the *conditio sine qua non* of access to the final consummation, the dawn of enlightenment.

(8) Right View (*Sammāditthi*) : (i) In the first place right view consists in the comprehension of bad (*Akusala*) and good (*Kusala*) dispositions[3] and their root conditions (*Hetu*

1. "Yā ca sammāditthi yo ca sammā samkappo ime dhamma paññākkhandhe samgahita"—*MN*, Vol. I, p. S71.
2. "Nekkhamma samkappo, avyāpāda samkappo, avihimsā samkappo—ayam vuccati sammā samkappo"—*Vibhanga*, p. 285.
3. Bad dispositions (*Akusala Kammu*) are of three types : (a) *Kāyika* (bodily), (b) *Vācika* (verbal) and (e) *Mānsika* (mental). *Akusala kāyikakamma*—(i) *Pānātipātā* (intentional killing of beings), (ii) *Adinnādānā* (taking the thing that is not given) and (iii) *Kāmesumicchācārā* (unlawful sexual intercourse). *Akusalavikammu*—(i) *Musāvādā* (lying), (ii) *Pisunāvācā* (tale-hearing or back-biting), (iii) *Pharusāvācā* (harsh language), and (iv) *Sampphappalāpo* Frivolous talk). *Akusalmanokamma*—(i) *Abhijjhā* (covetousness), (ii) *Vyāpāda* (ill-will) (iii), *Micchādiṭṭhi* (wrong views). Good dispositions (*Kusalakamma*) are just the refraining from the above ones.

or *Mūla*)[1], namely, greed (*Lobha*), hatred (*Dosa*) and delusion (*Moha*) as also their absence ; (ii) the realization of the four cardinal truths, viz.. suffering, cause of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to it. This matter has already been dealt with by us. It may suffice to say that the wise and enlightened saint is not deluded by the meritricious charms of phenomena, men, things and their functions. Things appear pleasant to a short-sighted man of the world and he is not disillusioned even if he is repeatedly disappointed by the opposite result. The four noble truths when realised in their true perspective make such delusion impossible.

Right knowledge consists in the realization that the transitory objects of the phenomenal world both subjective and objective are frought with pain and suffering from beginning to end.

In the third place the spiritual aspirant must not allow himself to be entangled in the unprofitable and misleading metaphysical speculations regarding the Indeterminates (*Avyākatas*)[2]. These questions are engendered by idle curio-

1. *Akusala Hetu* (root conditions) are *Lobha* (greed), *Dosa* (enmity) and *Moha* (delusion). *Lobha* (greed) is opposed to *Dosa* (enmity) inasmuch as they are contradictory terms, the one indicating attraction and the other repulsion towards a thing. Hence these two cannot exist together, whereas *Moha* (delusion) is the most predominating root condition of all unwholesome deeds and is accompanied both by *Lobha* and *Dosa* (Sanskrit '*Dveṣa*'), which are just the outcome of *Moha* or irgnorance of the true nature of the phenomena that they are impermanent (*Anicca*) soulless (*Anatta*) and miserable (*Dukkha*). *Kusala Hetus* are just opposed to the abovementioned *Akusala Hetus*. They are *Alobha* (absence of greed or presence of the sacrificing tendency), *Adosa* (absence of the feeling of enmity or the presence of the feeling of friendliness) and *Amoha* (absence of delusion or presence of wisdom). *Kusala Hetus* are helpful in contributing and developing each other among themselves. Hetus give birth to an action of its own type as also they nourish them.
2. *Avyakatas* : (a) whether the world is permanent (*Sassato loko*) or transitory (*Asassato vā*), (b) limited (*Antavā*) or unlimited (*Anantavā*), (c) whether personality and the body are identical (*Taṃ jīvaṃ tam sarīraṃ*) or different (*Aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*), (d) whether the *Tathāgata* exists after death or not (*Hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maranā na hoti vā*).

sity. The true nature of reality cannot be envisaged by mere ratiocination which only moves round the phenomena experienced by an average man of the world. They are to be directly envisioned by the saint by his transcendental knowledge. Philosophical reasoning helps us in negating the absurdity. But it cannot by itself and unaided by transcendental enlightenment give an insight into the nature of the world or of the self or of the final consummation, that is, *Nibbāna*. These are profound (*Gambhīro*), incomprehensible (*Duddaso duranubodho*), unascertainable by discursive thoughts (*Atakkāvacaro*). They are to be realised by one's own self (*Paccattaṃ veditabbo*) as it has been realized by the wise ones (*Pandita vedanīyo*). The Buddha has prescribed the way and the discipline and if this is meticulously pursued, it culminates in the full vision of truth which leaves no room for doubt and uncertitude.

In the fourth place one must contemplate the unsubstantial nature of things. They are all painful and cause pain (*Dukkha*). In a word the worldly existence[1] is nothing but suffering from end to end (*Dukkha*). All phenomenal things are impermanent, perishable and ephemeral (*Anicca*). There is no abiding core underlying the phenomena. There is no abiding soul in the subject and also no abiding perdurable unitary principle in the objective world (*Anatta*). In the fifth place, it must be realized that things that originate and disappear are subject to the relentless operation of the Law of Causation (*Paticca Samuppāda*). The Buddha thoroughly analysed the nature of worldly existence and on the basis of experience he showed that neither matter (*Rūpa*), nor feeling (*Vedanā*), nor cognition (*Saññā*), nor dispositions (*Saṃkhāra*), nor conceptions (*Viññānā*) separately or collectively is to be termed as 'self' (*Atta*) since they are all liable to origin, decay and death.

1. According to Buddhism the worldly existence consists in *Rūpa* (matter) *Vedanā* (Feeling), *Saññā* (cognition), *Sankhāra* (dispositions) and *Viññāna* (conception) what is called *Pancupādāna khandha* (the five aggregates).

Last but not the least is the realization that belief in a permanent self running through the physical states is a false and dangerous superstition leading to repeated births and deaths according to the Buddhists. All doubts spring from imperfect knowledge (*Vicikicchā*). Mere mechancial observance of ceremonies and rituals unsupported by the knowledge of truth are a snare and delusion. These deluded views cease to plague a person when he becomes adequately equipped to realise the truth.

Sammā Vācā, Sammā Kammanto and *Sammā Ājivo* come under *Sīla; Sammā Vāyāmo, Sammā Sati* and *Samādhi* come under *Samādhi* and *Sammā Diṭṭhi* and *Sammā Samkappo* come under *Paññā*.[1] *Sammā Vāyāmo* is the *Viriya*, i.e., vigorous unflagging exertion to keep the mind fixed on the subject of meditation. It is an aid to concentration and *Sammā Sati* keeps it away from floating and roving. The mental relationship of these three (*Vāyāmo, Sati* and *Samādhi*) has been illustrated in the *Visuddhi Magga* as follows : Three friends enter a garden for recreation. One sees the Champaka flower in the tree. He tries to grasp a flower, but fails to reach it. The second man offers him his back to mount upon. But riding the back he begins to shake. The third man offers shoulder for stability of balance. Thus the fellow standing on the back of his comrade and supported by the shoulder of another person succeeds in plucking the flower. The above three; *Vāyāmo, Sati* and *Samādhi*, are comparable to the three comrades. When one fails to concentrate his mind, right exertion offers him the back and right mindfulness, the shoulder to stand upon. These three, therefore, are comprehended under *Samādhi* (Concentration).

As regards Right View, it can be secured by instruction by a teacher and finally by one's direct realization of the truth. The first is of the nature of intellectual conviction, and by means of constant contemplation on it the spiritual aspirant is to attain the final stage of realization. But in between the

1. *VM*, p. 359/95. ("Tīhi ca khoāvuso Visākha, khanahehi...paññak-khandhe samyahitā".)

acceptance of the teacher's instruction and self-realization there are bound to occur many a distraction and doubt, particularly when the neophyte is confronted with the opposite views of the teacher. In this predicament his reasoning and considered appraisal of the strength and weakness of the diverse tenets come to aid. He gets rid of the cobwebs of doubts and diffidence and finally he is convinced of the truth inculcated by the enlightened teacher. So this mental assessment and examination, though not an integral part of meditation, removes impediment and thus facilitates unswerving contemplation.

This relationship has been illustrated by the example of a gold merchant. A piece of gold offered for sale is taken up by him. With the help of his eyes he inspects it on the surface, but he is not assured of its genuineness until he turns it with his hand upside down and also looks at all the sides and corners aided by his manipulation. Right exertion is here compared to the operation of the hand and finger and the right view to the visual perception. The three intermediate stages, namely, *Sammāvācā, Sammā Kammanto* and *Sammā Ājivo*, are the necessary steps for the purification of the mind, and paves the way for the three succceeding stages of *Vāyāmo Sati* and *Samādhi* which as we have seen above lead to the final result, viz., enlightenment, which dissolves all doubts and misgivings and confers the final deliverance from all limitations and infirmities.

Section IV

NIRVĀNA (NIBBĀNA)—ABSOLUTE CESSATION OF SUFFERING

Nature of Nibbāna

The four-fold Noble Truths have been treated in brief. It contains the quint essence of Buddhist religion and discipline. We have already stated that the Buddha started with the postulate that our worldly existence is riddled with

suffering in its entire gamut. The happiness and pleasure experienced are but false shows and fleeting appearances which only add to the poignancy of suffering. For this undesirable and inevitable stage of existence of the individual he did not hold responsible any supernatural agent other than the sufferer, such as God, divinities, fate or time or nature. He laid utmost emphasis upon the freedom of the individual as a moral agent. That he suffers due to his past deeds which have engendered attachment (*Rāga*) to pleasant things, hatred of unpleasant (*Dveṣa*), and delusion (*Moha*) which consists in the wrong psychological attitudes leading to false belief in the reality of the ego. A man has to overcome his moral imbecilities such as the thirst for pleasure (*Kāma Tṛṣṇā*), for another existence in a better plane (*Bhava Tṛṣṇā*) and for the opposite tendency of (*Vibhava Tṛṣṇā*), i.e., thirst for self-destruction. The Buddha specified the five hindrances (*Nivāranas*) to *Nirvāna* as follows: strong desire for enjoyment of pleasure (*Kāmacchanda*), ill-will (*Vyāpāda*), solthfulness and inactivity of the mind (*Styana middha*), hauteur and flurry and worry (*Audhatya Kaukṛtya*) and lastly scepticism about the validity of the Triple Jewel[1] (*Vicikiccha*). These base passions stem from belief in the ego (*Satkayā Dṛṣti*), and ultimately *Avidyā* (ignorance) which consists in the belief and pursuit of perfection in the phenomenal objects. The objects of the world whether in the sensuous plane (*Kāmadhātu*), in the higher material plane (*Rūpa Dhātu*) and even in non-material plane of divine beings (*Arūpa Dhātu*) are infected with the virus of impermanence. They come into being and pass out of existence as a matter of inevitable necessity (*utpāda vyaya dharminah*). One must transcend these states of existence in order to reach the absolute and infallible cessation of suffering. This is called *Nirvāna* (Pali, '*Nibbāna*'), a state which is neither liable to origin, nor decay, nor cessation.

The Buddha cannot be charged with a pessimistic outlook because of his repeated assertions of the existence of suffering. Of course, he did not believe that this world was

1 *Triratna* or *Trisarana*: Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha

the best of all possible worlds like Liebnitz who may be regarded as the exact opposite number of the Buddha. But he did not think that suffering is ineradicable. This should make a critic pause before he condemns Buddhism as a pessimistic religion. Of the fourfold truths the last is the way out and the third is the final consummation. There is cessation of suffering and there is a way to it. We have seen that no phenomenal object can deliver the goods. Phenomenal objects are all composite bodies (Sanskrit, *Dharmah*) and are bound to die. *Nirvāna* is the *Asanskṛta*, that is not composed of parts which are evanescent. It is the ultimate goal of moral and religious discipline arriving at which one emancipates oneself from all sufferings due to birth, decay and death. *Nirvāna* negatively means the cessation of all limitations and imperfections, moral and spiritual disabilities. *Nirvāna* is '*Vimukti*' (Pali, '*Vimutti*') or emancipation. The Buddha did not believe in the existence of the individual soul and hence the question as to who attains emancipation is parried with ease.

But what is the nature of *Nirvāna*? Is it cessation of all being and nothingness? To this the Buddha replied that there is cessation of the moral imbecilities and consequently of suffering in *Nirvāna*. The question whether the emancipated being or even the enlightened one (*Tathāgata*) exists, does not exist, or both, or neither (*Hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maranā, na hoti vā*), is regarded as futile and as one that begs the issue. The Buddha might return the same non-committal reply to the possible question 'who suffers?' Though there is no individual, eternal soul in the suffering creature, the existence of the latter is not liable to doubt, far less denial. The individual *Pudgala* or *Puggala*) is not constituted by an underlying unitary soul who exists as an eternal verity. To these questions the Buddha declined to give any answer. They are *Avyākṛtas* (*Avyākatas*) or unanswerable. As we have observed time and again, the Buddha was adamant against metaphysical speculations which he considered not only futile but positively detrimental to a man's spiritual well-being. The Buddha stressed the correct attitude which consists in avoiding the scylla of eternalism and the charybdis of annihilationism (*Sāsvatvāda* and *Ucchedavāda*).

The two are regarded as the most pernicious heresies. The individual does not cease to be after physical death, nor is he an eternal entity. Though Buddha declined to commit himself to the question that the religious aspirant continues to exist or becomes extinct after *Nirvāna*, and declares that it is inconceivable and uncharacterizable by these categories of thought and his reticence did not cause worry to his immediate disciples, the questions could not be stifled for ever. Latter Buddhist philosophers had to encounter this question and give a plausible answer. Even in the Pali canon we come across assertions which throw some light on it. Of course, the characteristics of *Nirvāna* are more negative than positive. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* there is a statement that *Nirvāna* is the supreme end *ne plús ultra* (*Anuttaram*). It is the unborn (*Ajātam*), undecaying (*Ajaram*), unaffected by disease (*Avyādhim*), undying (*Amatam*), unattacked by grip and impurities (*Asokam asamsakṛtam*).[1] About the reality of *Nirvāna* we have indubitable evidence furnished in the *Udāna* and *Itivuttaka*: "There is O monks! that sphere where there is no earth, no water, no fire, no air, not even infinite space, not even infinite consciousness, not even the plane of nothingness, nor that of perception and non-perception, neither this world, nor the next, nor sun, nor moon. Nor again O monks! do I speak of coming or going or staying or fall or birth. It is without support, without activity, without object, verily the end of suffering."[2] The most striking passage is the following: "There exists O monks! the unborn, the unlapsed, the uncreated, the uncompounded. Unless O monks! there were this unborn,...uncompounded, there would be no possibility of emancipation from born...compounded, wherefore O monks! there is unborn...uncompounded. Therefore there is emancipation (lit. passing out).[3] *Nibbāna*, the ultimate real has neither colour, nor shape, nor age, nor measure.[4] So it is not possible to affirm any predicate of

1. "Ajātam...asankilittham", *MN*, I, p. 212. The adjectives though occurring in separate statements have been put together by us.
2. "Atthi...dukkhassa"—Pataligamiyam Vagga, *KhN* I, (Udana), p. 162.
3. *Ibid*, p. 163.
4. Magandiya Sutta, *MN*, II, pp. 198-210.

it. Spiritual health is the supreme acquisition and *Nibbāna* is the highest bliss.[1] All these quotations unmistakably and indubiously tend to establish the truth that *Nirvāna* is a positive fact and is beyond the jurisdiction of time and space, and eternal, unchanging variety. But we are not furnished with any evidence to characterize it as consciousness and bliss, as the absolute Brahman is stated to be in the *Upanisads*. In the Kevatta Sutta of the *Digha Nikāya*, there occur at the end some verses which seem to indicate that *Nirvāna* is pure consciousness which is bereft of sign, infinite and effulgent on all sides, where the four elements, namely water, earth, fire and air have no access, where such distinctions as long and short, fine and gross, good and bad, name and form cease absolutely and without any remainder. With the cessation of *Viññāna* they cesse to exist.[2] These lines have been regarded as a sort of riddle and with the implication of self-contradiction. The texts have been discussed by Dr. N. Dutta in his illuminating work "Early Monastic Buddhism", Vol. I. We follow in his footsteps in our endeavour to get out of them an intelligible conception of *Nirvāna*.

The *Papancasūdani* comments on it as follows: "*Padadyayena* (i e. *Viññānam anidassanam*) *pi nibbānam eva vuttam. Anantam ti tayidam anantam nama...sabbatopabhamti sabbato pabhāsampannam. Nibbānato hi añño dhammo sappabhatarovā jotimattaro vā parisuddhatarovā pandaratarovā nathi*, etc. The two words stand for *Nirvāna*. *Anantam* (infinite) shows that it has neither origin, nor end nor extinction. Being devoid of these two extremes here, it is characterized as infinite. "*Sabbatopabham ti sabbatopabhāsampannam*"—It means that it

1. "Nibbānam paramam sukham"—Sukha Vagga, *Dhamma Pada*.
2. Tatra veyyākaranaṃ bhavati—Viññānam anidassanam, anantam sabbatopabham. Ettha āpo ca pathavī tejo vāyo na gādhati. Etha dīghañca rassañca, anuṃthūlam subhāsubham. Etha nāmam ca rupam ca asesam uparujjhati. Viññānassa nirodhena etthetam uparujjhati—*DN*, Vol. I, p. 190.
   Cf "Viññānam anidasanam anantam sabbatopabham. Tam pathaviyā pathavittena ananubhūtam, āpassa āpattena ananubhūtam, etc."—*MN*, Vol. I, p. 403.

illumines all sides. Buddhaghoṣa asserts that there is nothing which is possessed of higher illumination, higher scintillation or anything purer or whiter than it. This *Viññāna* is devoid of origin, decay or death. It is self-luminous and self-effulgent and there is nothing which can excel it in purity. One feels tempted to find close analogy of this description with what is found in the Upanisads. But there is a crux. The last line affirms that everything—earth, water, etc., is extinguished in the state of the extinction of *Viññaña*. Buddhaghoṣa, of course, warns us from the verbal similarity to factual similarity. The last "*tathā viññānanti carimaka-viññānampi abhisankhāra viññānanti viññāna*" is affirmed to be a constituted *Viññāna* and the first *Viññāna* (*tathā viññātabbam ti viññām; Nibbānassa etam nāmam*) is the description of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is to be known and realised. If *Viṇñāna* is interpreted as '*Viññātabbam*' (that which is to be known), it does not follow that *Virññāna* is consciousness. Besides, this *Viññāna*-consciousness cannot be identified with *Viññañanancāyatana*, that is, infinite consciousness which is transcended in the process of reaching *Nirvāna*, a stage of meditation. It is quite safe to characterize it as inexpressable by words or inconceivable by discursive cognition. It is the *Viññāna* in the first line capable of being identified with the stage of meditation called *Viññañānancāya-tana*. This is obviously denied by Buddhaghosa. If *Viññaña* does not stand for consciousness, but for an object of consciousness which is other than consciousness, then there would be no point in distinguishing this first *Viññāna* from *Viññāna* in the last line (*Viññañassa nirodhena ettha etam upanirujjhati*) which is stated to be extinguished. Though it is not far from risky, we may hazard a guess that *Viññāna* as the name of *Nibbāna*, as affirmed by Buddhaghoṣa, is pure, unconstituted consciousness. The adjectives "*Anidassanam, anantam*" and '*Sabbatopabham*' tend to confirm the interpretation that this *Viññāna*-consciousness is without example. In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, in the sutta '*Bakassa Brāhmana diṭṭhi-katha*' several examples are given from the elements: earth, water, fire and air up to the Devas, Brahmā and other gods in which this *Viññāna* is not realised. '*Anidassanam*' therefore

should be interpreted as without an example. It is *sui-generis*. The adjective '*Ananta*' stands for its infinitude and eternity according to Buddhaghoṣa. '*Sabbatopabham*', the highest illumination, as an adjective of *Nibbāna*, than which nothing can be brighter and purer, reminds one of the Upanisadic text "everything else shines after it and all that appears, shines in the borrowed light of the ultimate reality 'Brahman.'[1] If this adjective does not appear to be a figurative expression, it would argue that *Nirvāna* is consciousness, pure, infinite, unexampled and embracing the whole sphere of being which is the position of the Yogācāra school.

Unfortunately the terminology in the Pali text is not so precise and clearly defined as it is found to be in the later philosophical literature of India. In Sānkhya the fleeting states of consciousness are regarded as the states of mind (*Citta*) which came into being and pass out of existence as soon as another mental state occurs. They are called (*Vṛtis*) i.e. states of the mind and they do not pertain to pure consciousness which is embodied in *Puruṣa* (the spirit). This is also found to be the conventional terminology of vedanta which distinguishes between the evanescent *Vijñāna* and the eternal *Vijnana* of Brahman. If the last *Vijñāna*, the cessation of which brings about the cessation of all phenomenal experience be regarded as an evanescent occurrence distinct from the ultimate *Vijñāna* (consciousness) as the being and nature of *Nirvāna*, the contradiction would not arise.

But there are certain other statements concerning *Nirvāna* which leave room for doubt of the validity of foisting a positivistic interpretation—"Like the extinction of light there has been the release of the mind (of the Buddha)." Again in the *Ratana sutta* there is a verse which cites the example of the light of the lamp—"The old is exhausted and the second reincarnation is ruled out since the mind has no

1. Na tatra sūryo bhāti na candratārakam—nemā vidyuto bhānti kutoayamagniḥ. Tameva bhāntamanubhāti sarvaṃ—tasya bhāṣā sarvamidam vibhāti—Verse 15, Kaṭhopaniṣad, Second Chapter, Valli 2, p. 143, Gita Press Edition.

inclination for the future birth, the wise ones with the seeds worn out and desire not surging up to attain *Nirvāna*, i.e. pass out like the light of the lamp."[1] Furthermore, when Bakkali Bhikkhu's *Viññāna* was being searched out by Mara after his death, the enlightened one predicted the failure of Mara since Vakkali had entered into *Parinibbāna* with *Appatitthita Viññāna*.[2] This *Appatitthita Viññāna* is explained as one which does not grow and is free from *Samskāra* (*Sankhāra*) and emancipated, and because it is emancipated it endures (*thitam*) and consequently is blissful and therefore does not stand in fear and being fearless it passes into final emancipation. The expression '*Apatitthita Viññāna*' demands explanation. It is said to be '*Anārammana*, i.e. without support. It is countless and objectless. It is consciousness which uncovers itself only when attachment (*Rāga*) to material elements of the body (*Rūpa*), and the other four constituent aggregates (*Khandhas*) are abandoned. It is unconstituted, devoid of growth and independent of any cause and condition and hence free. Being free it is steady, being steady it is happy, being happy it is without any fear of change for the worse, being fearless it attains *Parnibbāna*.[3] The '*Apatitthila Viññāna*" is thus to be understood as consciousness which has no base in the shape of object (*Vocchijjtarammanam Viññānaṁ*).[4] This *Viññāna* is to be distinguished from the psychical cognitions which have necessary reference to and support on any one of the *Khandhas*. These psychical cognitions are necessarily based upon material body (*Rūpa*) or *Sankhāra* or *Vedanā*. The ambiguity and confusion caused by the sameness of terminology can be set at rest if the *Viññāna* which has

1. Nibbanti dhīra yathā-yaṃ padīpo—Ratana Sutta, *KhN* I, pp. 8 and 303.
2. Eso kho bhikkhave māro pāpimā vakkalissa kulaputtassa viññanam samanvesati--Kattha vakkalissa kulaputtassa viññānam patitthitanti ti Apatiṭṭhitena ca bhikkhave, viññanena vakkalikula putto parinibbuto ti" *SamN*, Vol. II, p. 344.
3. "Tada patiṭṭham viññānam avirulham anabhisaṅkhaññca vimuttam. Vimuttatā ṭhitam thitatā santusitam-na paritassati."—*SamN*, Vol. I, p. 285.
4. *SamN*, Vol. I, p. 284

origin, growth, development is regarded as phenomenal consciousness and is distinguished from the *Apatitthita* (unsupported) pure consciousness. It may be tentatively suggested that when *Nibbāna* is described as *Viññāna* consciousness which has neither origin nor extinction, it is to be understood as pure consciousness. In the Nikāyas, Nibbāna has been unambiguously affirmed to be '*Atthidhammam*' i.e. positively extinct. Buddhaghoṣa's interpretation of *Nibbāna* as pure consciousness distinct from the last ultimate cognition of *Nibbāna* leaves hardly any room for doubt that *Nibbāna* is infinite being and also infinite consciousness. This assertion on our part may sound unorthodox, but we draw the pointed attention of students of Pali canon to this momentous passage of the *Samyutta Nikāya*.

Now, we have to dispose of the crux presented by the simile of the light that goes out, for example in the *Ratana Sutta* ("*Nibbāntidhirā yathāyam padipo*"). The final emancipation of the *Arhat* is compared to the extinction of the light of the lamp. Does it mean that the *Arhat* meets with total extinction? We do not think that this hypothesis is consistent with the descriptions of Nibbāna as dealt with by us. Buddhaghoṣa interprets the extinction of the light as '*Apannakabhava*' which is rendered as indistinguishable by Dr. N. Dutta.[1] Whatever may be the status of the last and ultimate cognition envisaging *Nibbāna*, it is almost certain that *Nibbāna* is an eternal, imperishable state which does exist. The ultimate realisation as a cognitive fact may meet with extinction but not *Nibbāna* attended by the emancipated saint. It may be concluded that *Nibbāna* is a positive end. We now propose to confirm our conclusion by a survey of the problem of *Nibbāna* as has been treated in the *Milinda Pañho*, a text, though not included in the canon, is held in high esteem and regarded as an authority by all adherents of *Theravāda*.

Nibbāna in the Milinda Pañho

The most relevant question concerning *Nirvāna* is posed

1. *E.M.B.*, Vol. I, p. 284, Foot-note 2.

as follows: Is *Nibbāna* absolute happiness or mixed with pain? Nāgasena is categorical that it is unmixed absolute happiness. But King Menander demurs to accept this proposition as true since the saint in quest of *Nibbāna* is invariably afflicted with physical and mental pain on account of his austerities and relinquishment of all pleasures afforded by the senses. The physical pain entailed by abstention from enjoyment of sense pleasure necessarily affects the mind. So *Nibbāna* cannot be regarded as a state of absolute bliss. Nāgasena affirms that this painful experience involved in the discipline undergone by the saint is only a preliminary preparation and not the ultimate state.[1] He clinches the issue by comparing *Nibbāna* with the enjoyment of royal happiness which is unmixed with pain though the king had to undergo strenuous labour in fighting enemies and rivals as a means to the attainment of the royal fortune.

But has *Nibbāna* a physical characteristic, colour or shape, age or measure and can it be compared to anything which is accessible to our experience? No, it can't be likened to anything empirical and sensible. But *Nibbāna* is a reality, in fact it is *ens realissimum.* However, it can be compared to the ocean. As it is difficult for a man to measure the quantity of water in the ocean or the living creatures inhabiting it, so is *Nibbāna.* So we cannot make any description about *Nibbāna.* Mere absence of sensible qualities does not make a thing unreal. There are reputedly divine beings who have no physical organism. But, that does not make them unreal things.

To the question whether *Nirvāna* can be described in respect of qualities and thus made conceivable, Nāgasena concedes that though *Nibbāna* per se is beyond the range of human speech, yet one can form a conception of it by certain attributes which are accessible to our knowledge. It has one quality in common with the lotus, two of water, three of medicine (*Agada*), four of great ocean, five of food, ten of space (*Ākāsa*),

1. "Nibbānassa pana sacchikiriyāya pubbabhāgo eso, nibbāna pariyesanaṃ etaṃ Ekanta sukhaṃ yeva mahārāja, nibbānam na dukkhena missam"—*Milinda Pañho* (Mendaka), p. 307, Bhagawat Edition.

three of jewels, three of red sandal, three of clarified butter and five of the peak of a mountain[1].

It has two attributes in common with water; water is cold and assuages heat; so is *Nibbāna* calculated to assuage the pain caused by *Kilesas*, i.e. moral imbecilities. Secondly, as water removes thirst, so does *Nibbāna* remove the thirst for reincarnation. Medicine is the resort of those who are afflicted by poison, so is *Nibbāna* the resort of person suffering from the poison of moral afflictions (*Kilesa*). Medicine cures diseases, so does *Nibbāna* put stop to all sufferings. Thirdly, medicine acts as nectar (*Amṛta*), *Nibbāna* is nectar par excellence as it precludes deaths irrevocably.

Nibbāna has four qualities in common with the great ocean: The ocean is devoid of the filth of dead bodies, so is *Nibbāna* devoid of the dead bodies in the shape of afflictions. Secondly, the sea is unfathomable and not capable of being swelled by the rivers entering into it, so is *Nibbāna* vast and not capable of being filled and pervaded by all creatures. In other words its extent and expanse are unlimited. Thirdly, the ocean finds accommodation for all great creatures, so is *Nibbāna* the ulimate residence in which the perfect saints (*Arhatas*) find their spacious accommodation. Fourthly, the great sea is endowed with the flowers of waves, likewise *Nibbāna* is endowed with the flowers of pure enlightenment and emancipation.

The five qualities of food are found in it. Food is conducive to long life. *Nibbāna* when realised annihilates death and decay and thus ensures the endurance of life. Secondly, food increases strength of all creatures. *Nibbāna* too enhances the supernatural power (*Iddhi*) of the saint. Thirdly, food makes one resplendent in complexion. *Nibbāna* too enhances the brilliance of high moral qualities. Fourthly, food puts an end to pangs of hunger. *Nibbāna* too puts an end to the pangs of moral afflictions. Fifthly, food removes hunger and weakness, *Nibbāna* too removes the hunger and weakness caused by all sorts of suffering.

The ten qualities of space (*Ākāsa*) in *Nibbāna* are that

1. "Nibbānaṃ sabba kilesehi anupalittaṃ, *MilP*, p. 311.

Ākāsa is not born, does not decay, does not die, does not fall, does not grow, is not capable of being overpowered, not capable of being pilfered, does not rest on support of anything else, accessible to birds, is without cover and is without end and infinite. So *Nibbāna*, (a) is not born, (b) does not decay, (c) does not die, (d) does not fall, (e) does not grow, is not capable of being overpowered, (f) not capable of being pilfered, (g) does not rest on support, (h) is accessible to the enlightened ones (*Ariyas*), (i) is without cover and (j) is endless and infinite.

The three common qualities of a jewel and *Nibbāna*: A jewel satisfies desire, so also does *Nibbāna*. A jewel is pleasing and delightful, so also is *Nibbāna*. A jewel illuminates, so also does *Nibbāna* by eliminating darkness of ignorance (*Avijjā*).

Three common qualities of red sandalwood and *Nibbāna*: A red sandalwood is a rarity, so also is *Nibbāna*. It has unparallel fragrance and is thus non-pareil. Red sandal is admired by men of taste, i.e. (connoisseurs), such is also *Nibbāna* admired by saints.

Three common attributes of clarified butter and *Nibbāna*: Good purified butter has a beautiful colour. So also has *Nibbāna* the colour of the noble qualities. It is fragrant, so is also *Nibbāna* possessed of fragrance in the shape of *Sīla* (perfect conduct). It is savoury and delicious, so also is *Nibbāna* to the enlightened ones. Of course, these qualities are not to be understood in their literal sense. *Nibbāna* is a spiritual entity and it is only by analogy that these descriptions are given in the text.

Five qualities of the peak of the mountain are found in *Nibbāna*: It is high and elevated, so also is *Nibbāna*. It is firm (*Acalam*), so also is *Nibbāna*. It is difficult to climb, so also is *Nibbāna*. It does not afford scope for seeds to sprout, so also *Nibbāna* does not give scope for the seeds of affliction to grow in it. A mountain peak is not given to appease nor to offend, such is also *Nibbāna*. The idea is that a man who has attained *Nibbāna* has attained perfect freedom and as such he is free from the impulses. He has neither to curry favour with any person, nor has an occasion to give or take offence. He is beyond the

favour and frown of rich potentates. The Buddha, as he himself says[1], is an annihilationist (*Ucchedavādi*) in the sense that he teaches the doctrine of annihilation of attachment (*Rāga*), ill-will (*Doṣa*) and ignorance (*Moha*) as that of a severed palm tree which is never to grow again, and this is called *Nibbāna*.

Nibbāna is neither past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor unproduced, nor capable of being produced. Realisation of *Nibbāna* does not mean the generation of it either by itself or by another man's exertion. It is existent. It is the most covetable station of life being free from all natural and artificial causes of worry and persecution. It is a state of fearlessness (*Khematā*), it is well-being, it is tranquillity, it is pleasing, it is a state of happiness, it is goodness in *excelsis*, perfectly pure and cool. It has no definite location and space, but it is everywhere and can be realised by a saint irrespective of the place in which he may be stationed. It is immaterial whether the saint is in China or Alaxandria or Gandhara or Kaśi or Kosala.

A Critical Appraisal of the Conception of Nibbāna as Found in the Milinda Pañho and Other Pali Texts:

It is a matter of profound satisfaction to a student of Buddhist religion and philosophy that though in the Pali texts and also in Sanskrit canonical texts quoted by later authors, the Buddha does not deign to give a definite and positive answer concerning the nature of *Nirvāna*, we yet come across passages, though few and far between, which throw light on this puzzling problem. In course of our enquiry into the question of *Nibbāna*, we have lighted on a text which speaks of *Nibbāna* as unmade, unborn, undecaying and undying condition of being. Buddhaghoṣa makes it the base of his contention that *Nibbāna* is not a nullity. We have also quoted and discussed a few texts from the *Samyutta Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, etc., which categorically and indubiously assert that *Nibbāna* is a positive

1. "Ucchedavādo samano gotammo......dhammānaṃ ucchedaṃ vadāmi" —Sīhasenāpati Sutta, *MV*, p. 250

existence (*Atthi dhamma*). In our examination of a crucial text in the Pali canon (*Viññānam anidassanam*) we find that *Nibbāna* has been described as consciousness and the adjectives both negative and positive and the passages preceding and succeeding it definitely confirm our plea and set at rest honest doubts regarding *Nibbāna*.

It is, however, in the *Milinda Pañho*, a text-book of highest authority that we meet with statements which eliminate all scruples. That *Nibbāna* is infinite existence and consciousness, has been found in the Nikāyas. Unfortunately, these definitive texts are very few in number and the negative characterization is frequently met with. In the *Milinda Pañho* Nāgasena's replies to his interlocutor, king Milinda, has made it abundantly clear that Nibbāna is eternal existence which is not limited by time and space. It is definitely stated that *Nibbāna* is not produced and does not come into being. It is realised by the saint as an existent fact The realisation of the saint is rather a discovery and not an invention. It is affirmed with iteration and reiteration that *Nibbāna* is an existent real (*Atthidhamma*). We have tried to make out that *Nibbāna* is a conscious state of being and not an unconscious brute existence like inanimate matter so far as the evidence afforded by Pali canonical text is concerned. We found in course of our investigation that *Nibbāna* is *Atthidhamma*, i.e. positive and infinite consciousness illuminating all the directions (*Sabbato pabham*). It exceeds all phenomenal objects living or inanimate in degree and kind. In fact it is called '*Anidassanam*', without any example. We may be excused if we call *Nibbāna* the plenum of being and knowledge, knowledge that is not limited by objects. To our agreeable surprise we find in the *Milinda Pañho* a categorical statement that *Nibbāna* is absolute bliss (*Ekantasukham*). Thus the triple characteristic of the absolute Brahman, namely, *Sat* (existence), *Cit* (consciousness) and *Ānanda* (bliss) is found to be present in *Nibbāna*.

Nibbāna is compared to the great ocean which is neither increased nor decreased. *Nibbāna* is infinite in its extent and depth and the practically infinite number of Arhats who have entered into it, do not make it burst at seams. It has accommodation for infinite beings. In the *Milinda Pañho* it has been compared to the ocean which has no dividing source.[1] The sea is not made to overflow by entry of rivers with their water. So is *Nibbāna* not overstocked with the wise beings finding their ultimate destination in it. We find the Buddhist Church compared with the sea in which all the members find their accommodation and lose their distinction. The simile of the sea concerning *Nibbāna* is pregnant with significance. The rivers do not preserve their individual distinction when they have entered into the ocean. The reason is not far to seek. The differences and distinctions of rivers are not due to their content, viz. water, but to the locality and site in which they are seen to wend their way to the sea. The water of the river when merged in the sea cannot be spotted out. The river has become one with the ocean. It has transcended its limitations caused by the environmental situation. The emancipated soul which enters into the ocean of *Nibbāna* cannot maintain its distinctive individuality which was occasioned by the five aggregates (*Khandhas*). When the saint attains *Nibbāna* he is free from the limitations caused by the psycho-physical organism and the states incidental thereto. The *Arhata* when living as an individual distinct from his fellow creatures enmeshed in misery caused by ignorance (*Avijjā*) of the nature of things is not devoid of his individuality so far as outsiders are concerned. The attainment of *Nibbāna* during the life-time of individual saint is called *Nibbāna* with residuum caused by the psycho-physical organism associated with it (*Sopādisesa Nibbāna*). Even the enlightened (*Tathāgata*) is perceived by his intimate disciples and unenlightened layman as distinctive individual—a *primus inter pares*. His superiority and holiness are cognized without doubt. He is the best among men having neither an equal nor anyone surpassing his majesty. He is revered by gods, men, angels and demi-gods. He receives the homages of all living beings from the highest to the lowest and is pleased with their offerings. At any event he is conscious of the worship rendered to him. The Buddha has transcended the egocentric

1. *Mil.P.*, p. (312/74) (Bhagwat edition).

bias which is the fountain-head of all the misery and suffering. The most cardinal tenet of Buddhism is the denial of the individual self or soul—a doctrine which has been vehemently denounced by all non-Buddhist scholars and thinkers both in the past and in the present. If, however, we persuade ourselves in the light of the passage of the *Milinda Pañho* that the enlightened one after the death of the physical body has lost his individuality and as such does neither accept nor decline the offerings made to him and yet these pious acts produce enormous merit,[1] from this statement it may be deduced that *Nibbāna* is an impersonal state of existence in which the saint becomes merged and as such loses his finite individuality.

In support of our deduction we may mention the simile of the ocean as an approximate description of *Nibbāna*. In the *Mundaka Upaniṣad*[2] we come across the same simile. As rivers wending their way enter into the ocean and become merged and lose their name and form, so the enlightened person becomes detached from name and form and enters into the highest being.[3] In the Upaniṣads we come across two forms of the infinite *Absolute Brahman*, viz (1) the personal absolute, who is God, the creator, sustainer and destroyer of all things, animate and inanimate. Of course, the soul is neither created nor destroyed because it is one with the ultimate reality which is also the underlying reality of God. This is rather the lower form of the Absolute *Apara* (*Brahma*). (2) The highest reality is impersonal and the individual saint becomes identical with it and loses his individuality. This impersonal Absolute consisting of infinite being, consciousness and bliss is the ultimate reality which is individuated by external associates induced by ignorance. *Nibbāna* as described in the passages examined by us is indistinguishable from the Absolute impersonal *Brahman* of the *Upniṣads*.

1. *Mil.P.*, IV, p. 98/11.
2. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 3/2, p. 114 (Gita Press edition).
3. "Yathā nadyaḥ syandamānāh samudre, astaṃ gacchanti nāmarūpe vihāya. Tathā vidvānnāmarūpādvimuktaḥ, parātparam puruṣam upaiti divyaṃ"—*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (Gitā Press), p. 144.

The Buddha did not believe in the personal Absolute. He did not approve of the worship of God as conducive to the highest well-being, i.e. the attainment of *Nibbāna*. The moral and spiritual discipline prescribed by the Buddha as the way leading to final emancipation is not materially different from the discipline enjoined in the Upaniṣads. It is a surprise that in his denunciation of the sixty-two heretical schools and their doctrines and practices he does not quote any Upaniṣadic text, far less criticise the Upaniṣadic doctrine of one reality. His criticism of the claim of Mahā Brahmā does not affect the Upaniṣadic doctrine. Moreover, the Buddha's denunciation of the reality of the individual creature is reminiscent of the unreality of the individual soul from the transcendental standpoint. In the Upaniṣads the individual's soul is distortion and false representation of the Absolute in personal *Brahman*. The individual has only empirical validity and is as false and unreal as the phenomenal plurality. In fact the fundamental difference of *Vedānta* from the Sānkhya philosophy centres round the reality of the plurality of *Pūruṣas*. The *Puruṣa* is the impersonal self which associated with *Ahaṁkāra* becomes the empirical self. The *Vedanta* is emphatic in its condemnation of the reality of individual souls. The Buddha also denounces the belief in an individual soul as a heresay. In this Vedanta and Buddhism seem to voice the same truth. But it is enigmatic that the Buddha does not refer to the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the reality of one impersonal Absolute-self which is bereft of all differences, intrinsic and extrinsic. We do not hazard any guess. The Buddha may have discovered the ultimate truth advocated in the Upaniṣads independently by his own exertion. His condemnation of the ritualism as '*Sīlabbata parāmāsa*' is not irreconciliably opposed to the Vedānta. In the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* we come across a verse,[1] which condemns the performance of ceremonies and sacrifices as the passport to the highest bliss. The Buddha's denunciation of the practical

1. Plavā hyte adṛḍhā yajña-rūpā aṣṭādaśoktamavaraṃ yeṣu karma. Etacchreyo yeabhinandanti mūḍhā, jarā-mṛtyuṃ te punarevāpi yānti"—*Muṇḍaka* 1/ Kāṇḍa 2/7, p. 38 (Gitā Press edition).

religion as prescribed in the *Karmakānda* has produced far-reaching consequences which are not all salutary. We shall consider this aspect of Buddha's religion in the concluding chapter. After all the Buddha's religion has its validity and relevancy within the organization of monks whose sole concern was the attainment of *Nibbāna* as the final and irrevocable extinction of all suffering. Ritualism has a validity for those who seek lower values, the good things of the earth and heaven. And we shall see that the Buddha and the order he organised has had to make concessions to men and women of lower calibre.

We have made a digression in order to avoid facile misunderstanding. To return to our subject we may conclude that *Nibbāna* is not annihilation. On the contrary it is a state of perfect happiness (*Ekanta sukham*). This emphatic characterization of *Nibbāna* as unmixed happiness deserves close scrutiny. Apart from the text of the *Samyutta Nikāya* which speaks of *Nibbāna* as infinite consciousness (*Viññānam*), the declaration of Nāgasena that *Nibbāna* is Absolute bliss should leave no room for doubt that *Nibbāna* is infinite consciousness and infinite being (*Atthidhamma*). Whatever is finite is fraught with sorrow and pain. In the *Chāndogyopanisad* we come across a profoundly significant philosophical discourse between Nārada and Sanata Kumāra. Nārada wanted to cross his grief (*Śoka*) which his knowledge of secular sciences failed to deliver. Sanata Kumāra lays down the doctrine that happiness is only found in the infinite, and whatever is finite and limited and small is riddled with pain.[1] Nāgasena affirms that *Nibbāna* is infinite and the final abode of all spiritual aspirants after the highest bliss. It will be nothing short of perversion if an attempt is made to put a figurative construction upon this plain unambiguous text. Nāgasena does not quibble. To explain away Nāgasena's affirmation of '*Ekantasukham*' as equivalent to negation of suffering, will be nothing short of perversity. The

1. "Yo vai bhūmā tatsukhaṃ nālpe sukhamasti bhūmaiva sukhaṃ bhūmā tveva vijijñāsitavya iti. Bhūmānaṃ bhagavaṃ vijijñāse iti"—Chāndogyopaniṣad, *Trayoviṃsa Khaṇḍa* (Gītā Press Edition) p. 785.

different examples of happiness cited by him in illustrating the happiness of *Nibbāna* will knock down this exegetical jugglery. We are firmly convinced that Nāgasena regards the happiness of *Nibbāna* as a positive superlative state of beautitude.

But why does not Nāgasena throw any light on the aspect of *Nibbāna* as being a spiritual state conscious of itself? We are of the opinion that this is a bad omission. *Nibbāna* is happiness. This is his thesis and if this assertion is admitted to be true, it follows as a necessary corollary that *Nibbāna* is not an unconscious state. Happiness unknown and unrealised is only a contradiction in terms. Happiness must be felt and enjoyed, otherwise it will have no meaning. If a man asserts he is happy but is not aware of it, he must be convicted of telling nonsense or an unabashed lie. Equally one might assert that he is unhappy, but is not aware of it. Both the statements are unmeaning nonsense. In this connection we may refer to the epistemological theory of the Dharmakirti. Consciousness (*Citta*) and happiness and unhappiness (*cetasika*) are known by themselves. They are not unknown. Even the *Naiyāyika* and the *Mīmānsaka* who deny that consciousness is equal to self-consciousness, have to admit under duress that happiness and unhappiness are never unperceived. If there be pain and no awareness of it the philosophical enquiry inaugurated by the *Sānkhya* and the Buddha would lose its *raison d'etre*. Suffering is an undesirable state of the mind and one who is prey to it tries to get rid of it. Why?—Besause he feels it. If there is pain there must be a necessary and inevitable awareness of it. So also must be the case with happiness. Happiness and consciousness of happiness must go together if they be not identical. The assertion of Nāgasena that *Nibbāna* is absolute happiness unmixed with an iota of pain, can be intelligible if it is concomitant with its awareness. We may conclude our appraisal of *Nibbāna* as depicted in the *Milinda Pañho* by reaffirming our contention that *Nibbāna* is infinite being, infinite consciousness and infinite bliss. Our conclusion may sound as unorthodox and inspired by a pre-conception. But the documented evidence we have cited should cause even a hide-bound dogmatist that we have succeeded in making out a

plausible case. A researcher is an enquirer of truth and if his finding, though buttressed by unequivocating statements and logic, does not commend itself to an orthodox believer in Buddhism, he will plead *cadit quaestio.*

We have examined the nature and content of Nirvāna by a scrutiny of the texts of the Pali canon and also the *Milinda Pañho* which enjoys co-equal authority with canonical literature of Theravāda school. The later systems, namely, *Sarvastivāda, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra* and *Sūnyavāda* of Nāgārjuna have formulated their theories of *Nirvāna* which differ *toto caelo* from the Theravāda conception as represented by us. The *Sarvāstivāda* calls *Nirvāna 'Pratisankhyā Nirodha'*, which is an infallible state. But it is not clear whether it is an inanimate or conscious existence. The orthodox *Sautrāntrika* literature is conspicuous by its absence and we must be contented with the version left by the school of Vasubandhu, Dinnāga and Dharmakirti. There are some stray references in the Brahmanical works such as the *Nyāya Kandali* that *Nirvāna* is extinction of being and consciousness. In the representation of the school of Dinnāga *Nirvāna* is said to be a momentary consciousness, pure and undefiled which goes on producing its analogue *ad infinitum.* In fact the concept of *Nirvāna* is bound up with the free state of the individual. If the individual consists of momentary states of consciousness, *Nirvāna* will be nothing but the pure self qua momentary consciousness bereft of all impurities (*Tanhā*). In our examination of the theory of causation of the fluxist we have found that Dharmakirti's faith in momentariness deduced from causal efficiency as the test of reality, is rather a concession to the dogmas of the school. If causality be a subjective necessity of thought, as Kant has made it out to be, the doctrine of momentariness must tumble down like a house of cards.

In Vasubandhu's *Trinśikā* the representation of *Dharmakāya*, which is the ultimate goal of the *Arhata*, is one which is indistinguishable from the conception of *Nirvāṇa* as propounded by Buddhaghoṣa in the *Viṣuddhi Magga* and also from the Upaniṣadic conception. It is transcendental conciousness bereft of subject-object consciousness. There is no knower in it, nor

perception of an object. It is pure, eternal, blissful emancipation. It is called *Dharmakāya*, because it pervades all that is.[1] Unfortunately this conception of *Nirvāṇa* was ignored by the exponents of Dinnāga's School.

About Nāgārjuna's conception of *Nirvāṇa* we are left in a dilemma whether it is pure being or pure not-being. From the text of the *Mūla Mādhyamika Kārikā* and Candrakīrti's commentary on it, we do not derive any light regarding its positivistic character. Later scholars have endeavoured to deny its negative character. This will remain a moot question.

It must be acknowledged that the Pali canon in spite of the suspected tampering of the Ceylonese monks preserves a consistent unified and ancient tradition. Doubts have been cast upon the undiluted purity of the texts by Mrs. Rhys Davids and others. It has been shown by Dr. Pāññatissa in his doctorate thesis that Vasubandhu believes that *Nirvāṇa* is the only reality and the phenomenal world is an appearance. We are inclined to accept this interpretation as faithful reperesentation of Buddhaghoṣa's position and that of Theravāda for the matter of that.

After discussing the different aspects of *Nibbāna,* which is ultimate goal of human life, we would like to consider how Buddhism penetrated into the whole of India and spread abroad before attaining Nibbāna i.e., disappearance from its native land.

1. Achitto anupalambhoasau jnānaṃ lokottaraṃ ca tat
Āsyasya parāvṛttir dvidhā dauṣṭhūlyahānitaḥ
Sa evānāśravo dhāturacintyaḥ kuśalo dhruvaḥ
Sukho vimuktikāyoasau dharmākhyoayam mahāmuneḥ
—Verses-29, 30. *Trinsikā Vijñaptibhāṣyam* (edited by **Dr. M. Tiwary**).

11

A Brief Survey of Buddhism in India

Section I

AN APPRAISAL

We have already observed that, in the beginning the activities of Buddhism were mainly confined to Magadha and Kośala. Small communities of brethren may have come into existence also in the west, in Mathurā and Ujjeni. During the Second Council contacts were made with the communities in distant places like Pātheya, Avantī, Kauśāmbi, Saṅkāśya and Kannauj. But local influences were slowly affecting the conduct of the various communities which gave rise to as many as eighteen schools at the time of the Third Council of Pāṭaliputra, a number of them either disappearing or merging with others within a short time. We have also observed that after the reorganization of the Magadhan Church at this council and with the co-operation of Emperor Aśoka, efforts were made to carry Buddhism to distant countries.

But the faith lost official patronage under the kings of the Suṅga dynasty to the extent that Buddhist accounts unanimously represented Puṣyamitra Śuṅga as a persecutor of Buddhists. However, with the popular support by the common people, Buddhism made great progress during the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period. We hear of the famous Buddhist establishments

like the Bhārhut *Stūpa*, the Karle[1] caves and the Sāñchī *Stūpa*. Buddhism had then become almost a theistic religion with the Buddha and his relics as cult objects.

It was at this time that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the North with King Menander as a champion of the faith and the Greek *Thera*, Dharmarakṣita as a preacher of the law in the country of Aparāntaka.

As regards the expansion of the different branches of Buddhist faith to different lands, it may be noted that the various sects of the *Mahāsāṅghika* group, which was chiefly confined to the east since its inception at the Vaiśālī council, flourished in the south as far as Dhānya Kaṭaka[2], its most important citadel under the Sātavāhana's patronage; whereas the *Sthaviravāda*, was mostly in the north with prominence of its *Sarvāstivāda* branch in the entire region from Mathurā to Nagarahāra (Bamiyan in Afghanistan) and Takṣaśilā to Kāshmīr between the Śuṅga to the Kushan period.

Kaniṣka's reign is marked by a galaxy of Buddhist Masters, who shaped Buddhism in later times, and by the Gandhāran art, i.e., Indo-Greek school of art, which produced countless sculptures for four hundred years from the time of Kaniṣka. Buddhist monks from India carried Buddhism to Central Asia and China. A new form of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna, also came to be evolved at the same time or immediately after.

The Gupta emperors, though adherents of a Brahmanical faith, appear to be sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. A number of important inscriptions record gifts of private

1. The site, there miles north of the Malvali Railway Station (Maharashtra) containing a dozen rock-cut monasteries, a few rock-cut cisterns and a *Caitya-gṛha* suggests the existence of the establishment from A.D. first to fifth centuries. This is the most excellent rock-mansion in Jambudvipa.
2. Amarāvatī (the present Dharanikot, 21 miles from the District headquarters of Guntur, Andhra Pradesh). The plastic art of Amarāratī reached its most dazzling phase in the second century A.D. during the Sātavāhanas who were favourable to Buddhism. It formed a School of itself.

donors in the regions of Kauśāmbī, Sānchī, Bodh-Gayā and Mathurā in the fifth and sixth centuries. Buddhist art with its relics at Mathurā, Sāranātha, Nālandā, Ajantā, Bagh and Dhānyakaṭaka speaks eloquently of the prosperity that Buddhism enjoyed in the Gupta period. The famous institution of Nālandā was founded under the patronage of the Gupta kings. Fa-Hsien, who came to India during the reign of Chandragupta II, testifies to the flourishing conditions of Buddhism specially in Uddiyāna (perhaps in Afghanistan), Gandhāra, Mathurā, Kannauja, Kośala Magadha and Tāmralipti.

Buddhism had reached its height in the seventh century, which also showed certain symptoms of decay with the great centres of Buddhist study like Nālandā and Vallabhi still keeping the light burning. Harṣavardhan became a follower or a patron of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The Maitraka kings of Vallabhi in the west became patrons of Buddhism. Buddhist relics discovered at Vallabhi testify to the existence of Buddhism in that area up to the 10th century A.D.

After Harṣa the monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended very much on the rulers' patronage, witnessed a setback. But, while it was disappearing from other parts of India, it experienced another great revival in eastern India where it found most of the Pāla rulers to be devout Buddhists, who were responsible for the new endowments to the Nālandā monastery and also for the foundation of new monasteries such as Vikramaśilā, Odantapurī and Sompurī which almost monopolized the commerce in Buddhist culture from the ninth to the twelfth century A.D. till the Mohammedan conquest after which the activities of the faith almost disappeared from its home-land.

We would now like to look to the records of the Chinese pilgrims regarding the condition of Buddhism as witnessed by them.

Section II

VISIT OF THE CHINESE PILGRIMS

Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing are the three well-known Chinese pilgrims who have recorded their visits to the then existing Buddhist world.

Fa-hien, the first of these interesting men, started from China in 400 A.D. and returned in 411. He practically walked all the way from Central China across the Gobi desert, over the Hindu Kush and right across Northern India to the sea-port of Tamralipti in Bengal There he embarked for Ceylon and returned to China by sea. He brought back with him sacred books of Buddhism and images of Buddhist deities. He noticed the prevalence of Indian culture in the states he visited in Central Asia. In the country of Shan-Shan (South of Labnor) there were some four thousand priests of *Hīnayāna* and the common people practised the religion of India with certain modifications. But contrary to this, in Khotan, the next important state of the pilgrim, there were tens or thousands of priests, mostly of the *Mahāyāna*. Thereafter the pilgrim reached Kashgar, where he attended *Pañca-Pariṣad*, the Great Quinquennial assembly held by the king. The country possessed Buddha's spittoon and his teeth relic in a pagoda. He spent the summer in Udyāna, then a flourishing centre of Buddhism, and marched south to Gandhāra and Takṣaśila. He has recorded the Buddha's prophecy that Kaniṣka would raise a Pagoda in Peshawar which was later witnessed by Yuan Chwang. From Peshawar he proceeded to Nagarhār where there was a skull-shrine of the Buddha which was worshipped every morning by the king. To the south of the city there was a cave inside which the Buddha is said to have left his shadow. Then he reached Afghanistan where there were three thousand priests of both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*, but the same number at Banu belonged to the *Hīnayāna*. Crossing the Punjab, Fa-hien reached Mathurā passing many monasteries having ten thousand priests. Buddhism was very popular and priests were honoured by the people and court officials. He then reached the

middle kingdom and visited in succession Saṅkaśya (Kapitha), Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vaiśālī and the country of Magadha with its capital Pāṭaliputra. In Magadha, though both sects existed, Mahāyāna was more flourishing. Many of the old cities, such as Nālandā, Rājagṛha and Gayā which he visited, were then deserted but important places of pilgrimage. From there he went to Banāras, the Dear Park at Sārnātha and then to Kauśāmbī and Ghoṣitārāma. He then moved on to Tamaluka via Bhagalpur where he copied out *Sūtras*. Then he proceeded to Ceylon in a big merchant vessel. Thence he reached Jāvā where he found Brahmanism flourishing at the cost of Buddhism. Lastly, he reached Nanking via Ching Chon in China.

As regards Indian Buddhism it may be noted that we know more of it in the seventh century than in periods preceding or following it. The epoch was marked by the reign of Emperor Harṣvardhan and by the works written by Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari and others who frequented his courts, as also by the copious narrative of Yuang Chwang who spent sixteen years in India, and of I-tsing, who travelled in India and Malaya Archipelago. Harṣavardhan himself wrote some Buddhist hymns as also a few Brahmanic. One of his works Nāgānanda is a Buddhist drama. So also Bāṇa, a devout Brāhmaṇa, wrote the historical romance called *Har ṣacarita* and the famous novel *Kādambarī*, both of which are evidences of a mixture of religions witnessed in the contemporary life. The *Harṣa Carita* recounts the king's visit to a Buddhist ascetic. It may be noted here that after Kaniṣka, it was Harṣavardhan who had the liberal attitude in matters of religious worship as a result of which he showed equal reverence to Śiva, the cult of the sun and certain other forms of religious faith. Yuang Chwang states that when Rājyavardhan, the elder brother of Harṣavardhan died, it was only after the inspiration from *Avalokiteśvara* that the latter accepted the throne to dedicate himself to the affairs of state in the service of Buddhism and did not style himself king. Harṣa's father was a sun-worshipper and his elder brother and sister were devout Buddhists. Harṣa erected temples for the Śaivas as well as monasteries for the

Buddhist brethren. He prohibited the taking of life and the use of animal food. Of three periods into which his day was divided two were devoted to religion and one to business. He also exercised a surveillance over the whole Buddhist order and advanced meritorious members. He was a patron of Nālandā *Mahāvihāra* and erected a *Vihāra* and a bronze temple there. The King at first favoured the *Hīnayāna* but subsequently went over to the *Mahāyāna* under the influence of Yuan Chwang. An important feature of the religious life of India in the seventh century A.D. was the emergence of *Purānic* Hinduism with its emphasis on image worship and tightening up of the caste system which resulted in bitterness between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists of the age. Yet royal patronage was accorded to all religious sects. Yuan Chwang states that at the royal lodges viands were provided for 1000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brāhmaṇas every day. The eighth chapter of the *Harṣacarita* records that the parrots were expounding Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma Kośa.* Both *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* described troops of holy men apparently living in harmony with the followers of most diverse sects.

The most important event in Harṣa's reign is the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang to India. The king showed utmost hospitality to the revered guest. He met Yuan Chwang at Kajangala near Rajmahal and took him to Kānyakubja. A special assembly was convoked in his honour. It was attended by Bhāṣkara Varman (or Kumāra) and several other rulers owing allegiance to Harṣa, besides one thousand learned monks from the Nālandā University and three thousand Jains and orthodox Brahmins. Yuan Chwang was made the Lord of the discussion. A golden image of the Buddha was kept in a tower 100 feet high. The worship cf the Three Jewels was performed with great pomp. A fanatic Brāhmaṇa, out of jealousy for the favours which the Buddhists received from the king, attempted to stab Harṣa, but could not succeed. Yuang Chwang also attended the Sixth Quinquennial assembly at Prayāg which lasted for seventyfive days with the worship of the Buddha, sun and Śiva. The king gave away all he

possessed. There was an interchange of embassies between India and China in Harṣa's time.

Yuan Chwang rapidly qualified for the first place in philosophical debates wherever Sanskrit learning prevailed from the Deccan to Japan, from Turfan to Sumātrā. He was struck by the numerous differences among the schools and uncertainties in doctrine; and he made a vow to travel in the country of the west and learn the truth from the wise men there on the points which were troubling his mind. He crossed the desert of Gobi and reached Hami, where he received an invitation from the king of Turfan (Kao-Chang), a pious Buddhist. From Turfan he proceeded to Karashahr, which contained some ten monasteries and two thousand monks of the Hīnayāna sect. Then he moved on to Kucha, an Indian outpost but subject to Iranian influences also. There were five thousand monks with one hundred monasteries in that land. He started from there via Issiq-Kul (warm lake) where he met the great Khan of the Western Turks encamping. The Khan had leanings towards Buddhism, which his predecessors had been taught fifty years before by a monk Jinagupta from Gandhāra. The Khan had established his sway as far as Gandhāra. With the help of the Khan the pilgrim was able to cross the passes of the Pamirs and Bactria. His next important halt was at Samarkand, the capital city of Sogdiana. It was the terminus of the caravan routes between India and China. This Turko-Iranian kingdom wavered between Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. Yuan Chwang ordained a number of monks and restored the old desecrated monastery for worship. Therefrom he marched south and reached the Gates of Iran, the southern frontier of the Western Turkish Empire. The pilgrim crossed the Oxus and reached Bactria, which probably received Buddhism very early from the missions of Aśoka. He visited Balkh as well. Both these countries still had many monasteries, in spite of the ruin wrought by the Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries. They were all *Hīnayanists* with Prajñākara as one of their doctors. Yuan Chwang then crossed the Hindu Kusha and reached Bamiyan, which had ten Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks

and two colossal statues of the Buddha, about 170 and 115 feet high. Therefrom he reached Kapisa (Begram) to the north of Kābul. The king was a devout Buddhist of the *Mahāyānist* sect. He took the road to the east again and reached Jalalabad (Nagarhāra) through Lampaka. This land of Greeco-Buddhism, rich in its artistic tradition had suffered terribly at the hands of the Huns and now it had only ruined monasteries and works of art. The Arab invasion, twenty years later, dealt the final death blow. Then he came to Gandhāra where there were only a few Buddhists and more than a thousand monasteries stood unattended. Thence when he reached Peshawar, he found it to be the victim of the Huns. There were ruins of a million Buddhist monasteries and *Stūpas*. The pilgrim found Udyāna to have suffered more than Gandhāra at the hands of the Huns. It had once 1,400 *Vihāras* and 18,000 monks. It had not yet ceased to be Buddhist of both *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna*, though the latter was tending towards *Tāntrism*. Thereafter the pilgrim reached Takṣaśilā consisting of the ruins of numerous monasteries devastated by the Huns. He then went to Kashmir where Buddhism still prevailed with a hundred monasteries and 5,000 monks. The tradition of the idealist school of Buddhist philosophy in all its purity preserved in the *Sūtras* and *Sāstras* was made available to the pilgrim here at Pravarapuna (*Śrīnagar*) the capital. From Kashmir he came to Sākala (Sialcot), the seat of the Greek king Menander of old, and of the Hun tyrant Mihirakula of more recent times. On his way he stayed in Cinabhukti where he met a Brāhmaṇa who was learned in *Mādhyamika* doctrine. Then he went to Jalandhara, and next to Mathurā which was famous in Hindu tradition and Buddhist art. He visited Kapitha (Saṅkāśya), Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā and Prayāg. On his way he fell into the hands of robbers, devotees of Durgā, who wanted to sacrifice him to their goddesses. Courage, prayer, and a miraculous and timely storm saved him from death. At Prayāg he found Buddhists in minority. He then came to Kauśāmbi. Here, as everywhere else, Brāhmaṇism was in the ascendant. From there he reached Śrāvasti which was then practically deserted

but full of sacred spots and memories. Thence he visited Kapilavastu, the Buddha's native town with the Lumbini grove, which was his birth-place, Rāmagāma and lastly Buddha's place of *Nirvāna*, i.e., Kuśīnārā (Kasia). But he did not miss to visit Banāras, a sacred place for the Buddhist and Hindhus alike and also the Deer Park, the place of the First Sermon of the Buddha. He also visited Vaiśālī, the place of Āmrapālī and of the Second Council.

He found Magadha and its capital Pātaliputra in decay with the ruins of many palaces and *Vihāras* of which scarcely two or three still stood. He visited Bodh-Gayā and then Nālandā where he studied *Yogācāra* doctrine and Brāhman philosophy and perfected his knowledge of Sanskrit under Śīlabhadra, the head of the *Mahāvihāra* there. He visited Rājagṛha. Thereafter the pilgrim came to Bengal and Campā and finally reached Tāmralipti to embark for Ceylon, which was the seat of the *Hinayāna*. On the way he passed through Kāñcipuram by way of Orissa, Mahākośāla, the land of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, Āndhra and the Telgu Goda countries. But since a civil war was raging in Ceylon, Yuan Chwang gave up the idea of its visit and worked his way back to north by Western Deccan visiting Bharukacca and Vallabhi. Here he learnt much about Iran on the eve of the onslaught of Islam. After visiting Sindh and Multan in the west, Yuan Chwang turned again to Nālandā where he heard of the great *Mahāyāna* scholar Jayasen. He then attended the invitations of the king Bhāskara Varman of Kāmarūp and Emperor Harṣa of Kannauja. From Kannauja he passed to the Punjab, Jalandhar, Takṣaśilā, Kashmir, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan to reach China, where he was received with great honour.

I-tsing, the last of the three well-known Chinese pilgrims started his journey in 671 A.D. and returned in 695. Taking sea-route both ways he spent eight months in Sumātrā, six at Śrīvijaya and two in Malāyā. He landed at Tāmralipti and thence went to Magadha. He spent ten years at Nālandā in collecting books and thereafter returned to China through the same route staying for four years in Śrīvijaya, the then renowned centre of Sanskrit learning, in order to translate the

sacred works. I-tsing says that during this period there was a perpetual exchange of ideas, books and art-products between India and Ceylon, Java, Cambodia, Campā and the ports of the Canton region of China.

I-tsing gives a synopsis of Buddhist sects as they existed in his time. He has divided the eighteen ancient Buddhist sects into four grous or *Nikāyas* : (1) The *Ārya Mahāsāṅghika* comprising seven divisions was apparently the least influential, as it was not predominant anywhere though co-existing with other school in most parts, (2) the *Ārya Sthavira Nikāya*; to which our Pali canon belongs, was predominant in Southern India and Ceylon and was also found in Eastern Bengal, (3) the *Ārya Mūla Sarvāstivāda Nikāya* with four sub-divisions found in Northern India was flourishing in Magadha and (4) the *Ārya Sammitiya Nikāya* with four sub-divisions flourished in Lāṭa and Sindhu. The last three schools were preponderant in Southern, Northern and Western India respectively. All were followed in Magadha, because the holy places and the University of Nālandā attracted all shades of opinion. The *Nikāyas* appear to have been chiefly concerned with the disciplinary rules and hence probably all the eighteen sects had separate *Vinayas* and to some extent they had different editions of the other *Piṭakas*. The *Sarvāstivādins* had an *Abhidharma* of their own, but they had no objection to combining the study. I-tsing also tells us of the ceremonial bathing of images. But figures of Bodhisattvas representing *Tārā* and *Avalokita* were also conspicuous features in temples, says Yuan Chwang.

We would now like to examine the condition of Buddhism in India with special raference to the archaeological finds of the Buddhist establishments.

Section III

BUDDHIST ESTABLISHMENTS IN INDIA

The earliest Buddhist establishments cropped up in what is known today as Uttar Pradesh with its bordering districts in

the Nepalese Tarai and Bihar, which witnessed the drama of the Lord's life and activities. Monasteries, to provide shelter to the Buddha and his homeless disciples during the rainy season, had already come into existence during the life-time of the Master. At some of the important centres of his activities, such as Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī[1] monaste-

1. *Rājagṛha*—Modern Rajgir (15 miles south of Bihar Sharif, district Nālandā, Bihar) was the ancient capital of Magadh (South Bihar) till the days of king Ajātaśatru. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang did not find the faith in a flourishing condition. But the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmaswamin studied here many doctrines with Pandit Yaśomitra in 1235 A.D. So also the discovery of sculptures, votive *stupas* and inscribed terracotta plaques of the tenth-eleventh century A.D. prove that Buddism had its adherents till the beginning of the Muslim occupation of the land. Most of the sites mentioned in the Buddhist texts have been located, but the identifications are not always beyond doubt. The mounds to the north of the valley have been indentified with those built by Ajātaśatru and Aśoka. The Kalandakanivāpa has been identified with a tank to the south of the Inspection Bungalow and the mound nearby, with the monastery of Veṇuvana. The stream, formed by the waters of the hot springs, now known as Sarasvatī was then called the Tapodā. The Tapodārma must have been close to the springs. On the northern scrap of the Vaibhāra hill there is a group of natural caves, indentified with Saptaparnī, in front of which, in a hall constructed by Ajātaśatru, was held the first Buddhist Council. In the south eastern corner of the hill girt was situated the monastery of Jīvakāmravana. The Gṛddhakuṭa on the Chaṭha hill was a favourite resort of the Buddha. The *Asṭasāhasrika-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of A. D. 1015 in the Cambridge University Library contains a painting of Prajñāpāramitā of the Gṛddhakuṭa hill.

Śrāvastī—Modern Saheṭha-Maheṭha, district Goṇḍā and Baharaich Uttar Pradesh, is the site of Śrāvastī on the bank of the Aciravati (modern Rāptī). Pre-Christain reliefs from Bhārhut, Amarāvati and Sāñchī depict the purchase of Jetavana (present Saheṭha, District Goṇḍā) by Sudatta, surnamed Anāthapiṇḍika and foundation of the Buddha's residences there. To east of the city was the monastery of Pūrvārāma—Migāramātuprāsāda. The third important monastery was Rājakārama built at the instance of Prasenajit for the residence of the nuns. Queen Mallika herself built Mallikārāma. It is in Śrāvastī that the Buddha, in order to confound the six heretical teachers, performed miracles including that of the multiplication of his

ries were built up by his lay devotees, who thus set the custom which was subsequently taken up by the royal patronages.

ownself in different *mudras*. Yuan Chwang saw at the eastern gate of the Jetavana-*vihāra* two Aśokan pillars (the left crowned by a wheel and the right by an ox) and one *stupa* enshrining the relics of the Buddha. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* sixty thousand monks under Mahathera Piyadassī went from Jetavan—vihāra to Ceylon and attended the consecration of the Mahāthūpa by Duṭṭhagāmanī in the first century B.C. Fa-hien mentioned the earliest effigy of the Buddha in sandal-wood in the Jetavana monastery. Yuan Chwang saw Pūrvārāma in ruins. There were only a few monks belonging to the Sammitiya sect. Nevertheless, the discovery of Buddhist images like Lokanātha, Siṅhanāda Lokeśvara, Tārā and Jambhala, some with inscriptions, proves that activities continued till the twelfth century to which period belong two inscriptions, one recording the foundation of monastery by the Kannauja king Madanpāla's minister Vidyādhara in 1119 A.D. and the other, the gift of villages by the King's son Govindacandra (1130 A.D.).

The ruins of Jetavana are situated in village Saheṭha, District Goṇḍā and of the fortified city of Śrāvastī in village Maheṭha, District Bahraich. The earliest available relics consist of a few Kushān structures and images. The lowest exposed part of Temple 2 belongs only to the Gupta period. Temple is a monastery of about the tenth century A.D. An interesting find of the last period is a copper-plate charter of 1130 A.D. of Govindacandra.

Kauśāmbī—Mention is made of Ghoṣitārāma. Kukkuṭārāma and Pāvārikāmravana of Kauśāmbī, the modern Kosam, District Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. A fourth lodging was the Badrikārāma, while a fifth, a *vihāra*, was erected by Uttara, a wood-carver of Udyana. It was in the monastery of Ghoṣitārāma that the first schism in the *Saṃha* broke out. The Aśokan pillar edict at the place against schism is a testimony to this. Aśoka's second queen Cāruvāki is known from an inscription to have made here several benefactions. Aśoka is credited by Yuan Chwang with the construction of a *stupa* inside the Ghoṣitārāma and a second near the Dragon's cage in the neighbourhood. The *Mahvāṃsa* says that thirty thousand monks of Ghoṣitārāma attended the foundation of the *Mahāthūpa* at Anurādhapur (Ceylon) by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. In the third year of the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhamitrā, a nun installed images of Bodhisattva of the Mathura workshop at this place. The establishment continued to flourish under the Maghas and later on Guptas, till it suffered serious reverses at the hands of the Huns under their anti-Buddhist

In the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* the Buddha himself suggested that *stupas* should be erected over his mortal remains. As a result, ten *stupas*, including the two built over the urn and embers, sprang up immediately after his demise. The Buddha himself is said to have caused the relic shrines of Sariputra to be made at Śrāvastī and of Maudagalyayana at the entrace of Veluvana. *Stupas*, symbolizing the Master, remained for a long time afterwards the sole object of worship among the Buddhist in the absence of images of the Buddha and consequently of shrines to house them.

Among the places associated with the Buddha, the four, Lumbinī, the place of his birth, Bodh-Gaya, which witnessed his Enlightenment, Sāranātha, the place of his first sermon and Kusīnagara, where he passed away, continued to be embellished with monuments of various kinds.[1] Besides, these,

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chief Toramāna (*Circa* A.D. 500-515). Fa-hien found the Ghoṣitārāma occupied by monks mostly of the Hīnayāna pursuit. Yuan Chwang saw more than ten Buddhist monasteries, but all in ruins. He saw the Ghoṣitārāma with an Aśokan *stūpa*. To the south of Ghoṣitārāma, he has recorded the location of a two storeyed structure where Vasubandhu was believed to have composed the *Vidyāmātratāsiddhi*. He also saw the foundations only of the structure, which once housed Asaṅga. The excavation within the fortified area laid bare the remains of a large brick monastery, identified on the basis of an inscribed slab ascribable to the first century A.D., with the Gho ṣitārāma monastery. The excavation also yielded a rich crop of architectural pieces including carved balustrade pillar, and stone sculpheres including images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas and a few others assignable to the Gupta period.

1. *Lumbini.*—It has been identified with Rummindei, in District Bhairahwa, Nepalese Tarai on the evidence of Aśoka's pillar proclaiming 'Here was born the sage of the Śākyas'. By its side flows the Tilar-*nadī* (the Tela *nadī* of Yuan Chwang). the most interesting piece of antiquity here is the sandstone pillar bearing the characteristic Mauryan polish. The inscription of the pillar records Aśoka's homage paid in person to the spot of birth. It also records that the king erected a stone wall around the place as well as a commemorative pillar. Near the present top are several later records of pilgrims, e.g., '*Oṃ Maṇipadme huṃ*' in Tibetan characters. A modern temple enshrining fragmentary image presenting in high relief the nativity of the Buddha.

the venues for eight great miracles, viz., Saṅkissa, where he descended from the Trāyastriṃśa[2].

2. *Bodh-Gayā.*—The place now known as the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā at a distance of 8 miles from Gayā, Bihar, has been referred to as Vajrāsana by the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmswamin. The earliest construction at the foot of *Bodhi* tree was a polished sandstone throne (Vajrāsana). Aśoka took pilgrimage to this place of Enlightenment. On the evidence of a relief on the railing of Bhārhut he is credited with the erection of a shrine over the *Vajrāsana*, a railing around it and the tree and a pillar with an elephant capital. The earliest vestiges that are visible now are of the first century B.C. They consist of a carved stone seat (Vajrāsana) in front of the *Bodhi*-tree a tree-barred railing of sandstone, pillar bases and a detached pillar of the covered promenade (*Carikama*) of the Buddha. The railing was enlarged in the Gupta period. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang saw this establishment in a flourishing condition. All vestiges of this monastery, partly exposed By Cunningham, are now burried inside the raised mound on which have been constructed several structures. This monastery was most probably constructed by the Ceylonese King Meghavarma during the reign of Samudragupta (*Circa* 335-76) of the Gupta dynasty for the accommodation of the Ceylonese monks and pilgrims (see B.M. Barua, *Gayā and Bodh-Gayā* I Calcutta, 1934, pp. 180-181). Ceylon had an intimate connection with *Sambodhi* since the planting of a graft of the *Bodhi* tree at Anurādhapura during the reign of Aśoka, as may be gathered from several inscriptions. The installation of an image of the Buddha by Udayaśri, a Ceylonese, in about the twelfth century A.D. is recorded in an inscription preserved in the Patna Museum. This establishment flourished tremendously during the reign of the Palas. Dharmaswamin (A.D. 1234-36) found the place deserted. He met Buddhasena, the ruler of Magadha who had fled to the forest for fear of Turushka soldiery. The king was a devout Buddhist who made donations to the Ceylonese *sthaviras*. His son Jayasen donated a village to the Vajrāsana. Inspriptions in Burmese characters recording occasional repairs and donations have been found here. One of them furnishes a picture of the chequered career of this temple from its nucleus, which is attributed to Aśoka, till its third restoration. The temple was in use even in the fourteenth century as is evident from the records of pilgrims inscribed on the pavement slabs. About the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. the queen of Chagalarājā of Bengal repaired the Gaṇdhola (Mahābohi temple). Deserted by the Buddhists, the temple was appropriated by the Śaiva Giris.

Sāranātha. See Foot note No. 2 in pp. 77-78. (typed mss).

Kusinagara—See Foot note No. 1 in p. 113. (typed mss.)

Heaven[1], Śrāvastī where he performed miracles in order to confound the heretical teachers, Rajgir where he tamed Nālāgiri Vāiśalī[2] where he was offered a bowl of honey by a monkey, similarly became the scene of monumental activities through subsequent centuries. These Eight great Miracles were of the depicted in a condensed form on the stelae of images of ten Buddha in later period. With the passage of time, Buddhism overstepped the boundaries of Madhyadeśa, its cradle-land, in the extension of the geographical horizon of which Aśoka took a leading role. His *dharma-ghoṣa* was heard throughout India. According to the Buddhist tradition, he built the Aśokārāma[3] at Pāṭaliputra

1. The Buddha repaired to the Trayastriṃśa heaven to preach the *Abhidharma* to his mother, and after passing the ensuing rainy season there, he alighted in the company of Śakra and Brahma at Sanikissa (district Farrukhabad, Uttar Pradesh) by means of a staircase provided by Śakra.
2. Basārh, 22 miles south-west of Muzaffarpur, represents the ancient Vaiśālī. It was the capital of the Licchavī clan and one of the largest cities at the time of the Buddha. Yuan Chwang says that the spot, marked by the miracle of the offering of honey to Buddha by a monkey, was honoured with a *stūpa* located by the side of the Markaṭahrada. The Licchavīs enshrined their share of the Buddha's relics in a *stūpa* near Vaiśālī. Another *stūpa* near the place is said to have contained half the relics of Ananda, the other half buried at Rājagaha. Among the finds of Amarāvati, Āndhra Pradesh, the reliefs on a stele of the second century B.C. depict the *Chaityas* of Vaiśālī in course of the Buddha's last journey to Kusinagara. The monks of the Mahāvana monastery attended the consecration of the Mahāthūpa built by Duṭṭhagāmanī of Ceylon. Yuan Chwang saw the *stūpa* erected by the Licchavis and opened up by Aśoka for its relic-contents and also that by Aśoka himself. Dharmaswamin, in course of his visit to Vaiśālī, refers to the miraculous stone image of Ārya Tārā (see A.S. Altekar, *Biography* of *Dharmaswamin*, p. 61) and to no other Buddhist establishment of the place. At Kolhua stands a pillar indicating Mauryan origin. An image of the Buddha of the late Pāla period is enshrined in a brick *stūpa*.
3. Aśokārāma has not been identified so far. The remains of Ārogya-vihāra of the Gupta period besides a number of monasteries were unearthed near the Maurya Pillared Hall at Kumrahar in the suburbs of Patna.

(Patna) and opened seven out of the eight *Śāririkā Stūpas*[1] and took away the major portion of relics for distribution among eighty-four thousand *stūpas* built by him throughout his empire. Though the number is obviously an exaggeration, there can be no doubt about the kernel of truth in the tradition itself. Indeed, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang saw a number of *Stūpas* built by Aśoka which still remain unidentified. Aśoka inscribed rocks and pillars with his own exposition of the *Dharma*.

The brick *Stūpa* inside the stone casing of the great *Stūpa* (*Stūpa 1*) at Sāñchī was constructed by Aśoka, who also planted a stone pillar in front of it.[2] The original core of the Dharamarājikā (*Stūpa*) and a pillar, bearing the Emperor's edicts, in front of this *Stūpa* at Sāranātha are also ascribed to

1. Aśoka's attempt to open the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma was said to have failed due to the opposition of the *nagās*.
2. Sāñchī (District Raisen, Madhya Pradesh) has the singular distinction of having specimens of almost all kinds of Buddhist architectural forms. It flourished from the third century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D. The site had no associations with the Buddha and the earliest structures were the *stūpa* and pillar of Aśoka. In the first century B.C. the *stūpa* underwent enlargement of four gateways with bas-reliefs depicting the *Vessantara*, the *Mahakapi*, the *Chaddanta* the *Sama* and *Alambusa* Jātakas and representing symbolically the incidents from the life of the Buddha. Miscellaneous scenes including the division of relics, the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma and Aśoka's homage to the *Bodhi* tree, Mānuṣī Buddhas and ornamental patterns and figures are also there. The last addition to the *stūpa* was made in the Gupta period when four seated images of the Buddha were consecrated. Besides this *stūpa*, there are several others including *stūpa* 3 of about the second century B.C. consisting of the relics of Sāriputra and Maudagalyāyana as known from the inscription on the stone boxes containing the casket. *Stūpa* 2 is remarkable for its ornamental reliefs representing the folk-art and for its yield of the body-relics of the Buddhist luminaries of at least three generations of teachers including Kāśyapagotra and Majjhima commissioned to preach the doctrine in the Himalayan region in the reign of Aśoka. The *stūpas* of Andher and Sonari also yielded the relics of several of these teachers. *Stūpa* 5 is ascribable to the A.D. sixth century and the group comprising *Stūpas* 12-14 and 16 of the sixth and seventh centuries.

him. The inscribed monolithic pillars of Aśoka have been found at several places, e.g., Meerut (now in Delhi), Topra (now in Delhi). Lumbinī, Nigali-sagar (District Taklihawa, Nepalese Tarai), Rampurva, Lauriyā-Nandanagarh[1], Lauriyā-Ararāja, Kauśambī (Allahabad), Sāñchī and Sāranātha. Many of the pillers seen by the Chinese pilgrims are no longer extant. There is undoubted inscriptional evidence of Aśoka's personal visit to Lumbinī and Bodh-Gayā. The Vajrāsana of the Buddha at Bodh-Gayā is believed to be his gift on this very occasion of visit. He also enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kanakamuni, one of the six Mānuṣī-Buddhas preceding Gautama Buddha. The rock bearing Aśoka's edicts at Kālsi (near Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh) has a line-drawing of an elephant with the lebel '*gajatame*' (the best of elephants) representing the Buddha who entered his mother's womb in this form in a dream. He also carved the fore part of an elephant above the rock bearing his edicts at Dhauli, near Bhubaneshwar, Orissa.

We know that Aśoka prescribed certain texts for the study of the monks and nuns and promulgated edicts against

Besides the pillar of Aśoka, there are others incluuing pillar 25 which goes back to the Sunga period and pillars 26 and 35 of the fifth century A.D., the later one once bearing a beautiful standing image of Vajrapāṇi (now exhibited in the local museum). The number of temples is fairly considerable dating from the Maurya period to the last addition made in the seventh or eigth century A.D. About the tenth or eleventh century A.D. door-jambs were added to temples. None of the extant monasteries can be dated earlier than the sixth century A.D., though some of them were raised over the ruins of earlier ones.

1. The village of Lauriyā, 16 miles to the north-west of Betiah, Bihar, is the site of Lauriyā-Nandangarh. It has about twenty mounds disposed in three rows, the Aśokan pillar standing near the two easternmost mounds of the east-west row. The mound constituting the ruins of a colossal *stūpa* must have been erected after the period of Huviṣka (second century A.D.) as it has yielded a large number of stone heads, terracotta sealings of about the first century B.C. and coins—punch-marked, cast and an issue of Huvika. Both Lauriyā-Nandangarh and Lauriyā-Ararāja derive their name from the inscribed pillars (called Laur in the local parlance) of Aśoka that they contain.

schism in the *Saṃgha* (vide his pillar edict at Sārnātha, Sāñchī and Kauśambī).

The Maurya were followed by the Suṅgas (second and first century B.C.) and later on by the Kāṇvas (first century B.C.) in the north and the Sātavāhanas (first century B.C. to the third century A.D.) in the Deccan and south-eastern India. During their regime, though there was no ruler who took up the cause of Buddhism in the manner of Aśoka, building activities continued on an accelerated pace due to the piety of an increasing number of lay devotees of means *Śresthis, Sārthavās gṛhapatis*, etc.) Thus grew up a large number of Buddhist monuments including the celebrated *Stūpa* at Sāñchī and Bharhut[1] in Central India and the Mahachaitya at Amarāvatī in south-east India.

1. The monuments at Bharhut, about 9 miles south of Satnā railway station in Madhya Pradesh, were completely razed to the ground. Several fragments of images of the Buddha and Buddhist deities are fixed to the wall of the modern Hanuman temple of the village. The main *stūpa* made of brick was located at the fort of the hill called Lāl-pahār. The date of the construction of the *stūpa* is unknown But the construction of the railing attracted the donors from Vidisā (Besanagar), Karahaketa (Karhad, District Satnā), Nāsik (Mahārāṣtra) Kauśambī (Allahabad District) and Pāṭaliputra (Patna) whose names were often inscribed on their gifts. The railing was luxuriantly carved with a profusion of bas-reliefs throwing a flood of light on the contemporary Buddhist religion, art-tradition, beliefs, practices and the life in those days. The object of the narratives, particularly of the Jātakas and the life-scenes of the Buddha was to beautify the cherished object of sanctity and to imprint on the popular mind the sacred lores. In the life-scenes carved on the railing, the Buddha was never represented in human form, but by the symbol of a seat, *triratna*, foot-prints or so. For example a throne under the Bodhi tree, a wheel and a *stūpa* symbolized his Enlightenment, Sermon and Demise respectively. Compared to the imperial court-art of the Mauryas with its classical qualities, this indigenous folk-art appears archaic. The figure-style is undeveloped. The plastic conception is rudimentary and there are hardly attempts towards grading the different parts of the body into various depths. These craftsmen had a fine natural bent for decorative beauty and wove certain motifs like creepers and flowers into things of surprising excellence. The site of Bharhut was not deserted at least till the eleventh century, as is evident from the find of several Buddhist figures of this date.

At Bharhut and Sāñchī people selected sandstone railings and gateways in view of permanency, leaving the solemn *Stūpa* austere and plain. The bare look of the *Stūpa*, however, did not find favour with the devotees of Amarāvatī[1] who beautified it with luxuriantly carved limestone slabs.

1. The present Dharanikot (District Guntur, Āndhra Pradesh), ancient Dhānyakaṭaka, 21 miles from Guntur, contains ruins of the ancient city in the form of high mounds. A large number of inscriptions found at the site itself suggest that it remained a flourishing Buddhist centre from the third century B.C. to the thirteenth century A.D. The Mahācaitya went back most probably to the third century B.C. To the third second century B C. are ascribable the earliest donative records (see Ep. 2nd., XV, p. 259) incised on uprights and copings and cross-bars of the early railing around the *stūpa*. The majority of the extant votive inscriptions, not only from Dhānyakaṭaka, but from different parts of India, belong to the second century A.D. when the Mahācaitya underwent additions and embellishments unsurpassed. Dhānyakaṭaka reliefs are now world famous for their superb expressiveness and exuberance of beauty. One of these inscriptions recording the gift of a *dharmacakra* pillar of Mahācaitya is dated in the reign of the Sātavāhana king Pulumavi (*Circa* A.D. 130-39). The Buddha on stone in human form in the early reliefs is referable to the first century B.C. and A.D. The discovery of a good number of stone and bronze images of the Buddha and stone figures of Buddhist deities like Maitreya, Mañjuśri, Kokeśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Heruka etc. of the sixth to the eleventh century A.D. testifies to the gradual transformation of Buddhism in its final Tantric Vajrayāna form. An inscription of about A D. 1100 on a pillar excavated at the site, records the erection of a statue (?) of the Buddha by the Pallava king Siṃhavarmin in the Param-Buddha-Ksetra of Dhānyakaṭaka (see *Ep. Ind*. X, pp. 43 and 44). Another epigraph (*Ep. Ind*., VI, p. 155), dated Saka 1104 (A.D. 1182) in the reign of Keta II, on a pillar of the local Amreśvara temple preambles with 'Oṃ'. A second inscription of A.D. 1234, on the same pillar, again records the gift of another perpetual lamp to God Buddha who is pleased to reside at Śrī Dhānyaghāṭī (*Ep, Ind*., VI, p. 155). Even as late as the fourteenth century Dhānyakaṭaka retained its international position in the Buddhist world, as is evident from the Gadaladeniya (District Kandy, Ceylon) rock inscription dated 1344, in which Dharmakīrti, a *sthavira* credited with the restoration of a two storeyed image house of Dhānyakaṭaka. This is the last glimpse of the Buddhist establishment of Dhānyakāṭaka, for the last records are silent about it.

The themes in embellishments were generally edifying in nature, depicting *Jātakas*, Mānuṣī-Buddhas and scenes from the life of the Buddha. The Buddha himself was represented by symbols like foot prints, wheel, etc.

Of about the first century B.C. is the sandstone railing around the *Vajrāsana* (Buddha's seat below the *Bodhi* tree) at Bodh-Gaya which bears an affinity to the railings at Sāñchī.

The evidence of Sāñchī, coupled with Andher, Satdharā and Sonarī (all in Madhya Pradesh) proves that portions of the bones of even the later dignitaries of the *Saṃgha* were collected from their original resting places for enshrinement in *Stūpas* erected in different parts of India.

From the second century B.C. onwards a predilection for the rockcut caves was noticed in the Deccan in places like Bhāja,[1] Kondane,[2] Ajantā,[3] Piṭalkhorā[4], Nasik,[5] (all in Mahārāṣtra), etc.

The most outstanding discovery is the *ayaka*. The caskets yielded bones, pearls, gold flowers, etc. Particularly interesting among the finds is a damaged stele of greenish limestone. One of its faces is of the late second century B.C The remaining three faces bear damaged reliefs with explanatory levels including one presenting the incidents of the last three monks of the Buddha's life from his sojourn at Vaiśālī to the *parinrivāṇa* at Kuśinagara. On the second face are represented the structural complex at Śrāvasti, purchase of Jetavana and the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍiki. The third face mentions the *goṣṭhi* called *vande* at Dhanyakaṭaka. The main themes of the carvings on the entablature are *Jatakas* and events from the Buddha's life in larger compartments and an amorous couple in the smaller.

1. One mile from the Malavli railway station (District Poona) is the site of Bhāja. Unlike the neighbouring group at Karla, the caves here are the product of the early phase of excavation alone, going back to the period when the image of the Buddha was not introduced here. The latest excavation here is a cistern, referable to the end of the second century A.D. on the evidence of the paleography of an inscription. The caves, however, remained in use at least till the fifth-sixth century A.D. which saw the embellishment of the *Caitya-gṛha* with the painted figures of the Buddha. The *Caitya-gṛha* has been regarded as the earliest of its class in live rock, as it provides

Out of the live rock the Buddhists made beautifiul monasteries and *Caitya-gṛhas*. Their facades and pillars were often carved and their walls and ceilings embellished with paintings, many of which illustrated tales from the *Jātakas*.

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the closest copy of the wooden prototype. The doors of the monasteries of cave 18 are flanked by lavishly bejewlled *dvāra-pālas*. The walls of the hall are also embellished.

2. This interesting group of caves in district Kolābā is excavated in the western face of a high hill, 3 miles north-east of Thākurwādī. A few fragments of octagonal pillars extant with the portions of walls and the *Caitya-gṛha* exhilarates the visitors by its magnificent facade. The figures of men and women with bewitching bodily movements, some in a group of two or three in amorous dalliance evince an animated style and maturer art. The delicately modelled figures are shown in natural poses, their movements free and full of expression and grace. This seems to indicate for these reliefs and also the cave a date not earlier than the first century B C. To the left of the *Caitya-gṛha* at a higher level is a spacious monastery, extra-ordinary of its kind. It consists of a pillared varandah, a hall with fifteen pillars and eighteen cells on three sides. All the cells have rock-cut beds, two being double-bedded. There are two short inscriptions on the facade. Besides this magnificent monastery, there are five more ordinary *vihāras* belonging to a period when the image of the Buddha was not evolved.
3. Ajantā—The cave near Ajantā (District Aurangābād, containing the world famous mural paintings called picture galleries in the inscriptions) occupy a unique position among the monuments of India by the superb symphony of architectural form, sculpture and painting with wide aesthetic vision and largeness of conception of the master-designers. There is a little brook besides rock-cut cisterns in the courtyard of some monasteries. The establishment with its beginning in the second century B.C. (Cave 10) continued its existence possibly till the ninth century A.D. during the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The caves are thirty in number, of which five are *Caitya-gṛhas* and the rest monasteries dating from the second and first centuries B.C. The subject-matter of the early paintings is ceremonial worship of the *Bodhi* tree by a royal personage in the company of his retinue and the *Chaddanta* and *Sama Jātakas*, while those of the later paintings is mostly stereotyped figures of the Buddha. Cave 16, one of the most beautiful monasteries of Ajantā, with its windows, doors, beautiful picture galleries (*Vīthi*), statues of celestial nymphs, ornamental pillars, stairs, a *Caitya-mandira*, a *maṇḍapa* and a cistern, was the gift of Varāhadeva, a minister of king Hariṣena (*Circa* A.D. 475-500). Cave 6 alone is double storeyed. The pillars of the verandahs and the halls are exquisitely carved in the best tradition of the Gupta—Vākāṭaka age. The figures of the Buddha and elementary Bodhisattvas, like Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara as a saviour of mankind from Eight Great Perils and also other figures, like Nāgarāja, Yakṣas, Pañcika and Hāritī are noted for restrained elegance, grace, serenity, dignified bearing and soft sensitive modelling. The figures of the Buddha lock the spiritual luminosity of Sāranātha. Cave 18, a grand combination of the decorative art and graceful proportions, is the finest specimen of the class in which perfect balance is achieved of all the elements. There is excessive ornamentation in cave 26 which is a work of about the beginning of sixth century A.D. The monotony of the repetitions of the figures of the Buddha is relieved by two compositions, one representing the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha and other, a beautiful one, depicting the assault and temptation of Māra on the eve of the Enlightenment. The painter's art reached its peak in the Vākāṭaka period. Substantial remains of this quality brushwork have survived in Caves 1, 2, 16 and 17. The importance of these murals lies in their being the sole representative of an Indian school which had once influenced deeply the art tradition of the Buddhist world outside India, like Ceylon and Central Asia. The themes of the paintings on the walls centre round the Buddha, Mānu-shī-Buddhas, episodes from the life of Gautama Buddha and the Jātakas to illustrate the teachings of the elder monks to their pupils congregated in the hall.
4. Piṭalkhorā—Fifty miles north-west of Aurangābād is the site of the Piṭalkhorā caves. Caves 3 and 4 with the exuberance and the rich texture of their facade-decoration are unparalleled in the Pre-Christian caves. The workmanship in a variety of reliefs excels in many respects the reliefs of Bharhut. The vigorous human figures with their beaming cheeks vibrate with a plasticity, amazing in such an early age. Two of the pillars of the *Caitya-gṛha* of cave 3 bear the dedicatory records of the natives of Pratiṣṭhāna modern Paithan. These inscriptions may be assigned to dates between 150 and 50 B.C. This cave was in occupation till about the seventh century A.D. Cave 4 is one of the grandest pre-christian monasteries even excavated. Its weight seemingly rests on the bodies of a row of large-sized elephants facing with their *mahauts*. The floor of the *Vihāra* is approached by a covered flight, the entrance to which is guarded by two well-extended *dvāra-pālas* with a peculiar dress, a long spear

After the fall of the Mauryas, north-western India was subjected to successive waves of foreign invasions of diverse

nationalities. First came the Bactrian Greeks, then the Scytho-Parthians and ultimately the Kushans, with the result that a

and a shield. Over the lintel of the door frame is Gaja-Lakṣamī. The interior of the monastery also presents singular features. The remaining caves of this group (second to first century B.C.), all monasteries, do not call to special remarks.

5. Nasik—this group of twenty-four caves locally known as Paṇḍu-leṇa or Pāndava's caves on a hill, 5 miles from Nasik, bears on its walls a number of inscriptions of great historical significance belonging to the reign of the Sātavāhanas and Kshaharatas (a śaka family). So also it represents a brilliant phase in the rock-cut architecture of the second century A.D. The establishment, however, sprouted forth much earlier, in about the first century B.C. and continued its existence at least till the sixth or seventh century A.D. when some of the earlier caves were altered, reconditioned and embellished with figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and a few new ones were added. The two largest monasteries were caused to be excavated by Sātavāhanas and the Kshaharatas. The remaining caves were the gifts of the common people including monks and a śaka writer from Daś.pur (modern Mandasor, M.P.). The *Caitya-gṛha* cave 18, was not completed earlier than the first century A.D. though the excavation was undertaken as early as the first century B.C., as is evident from the inscription on the facade. On either side of the *Caitya-gṛha* is a monastery (Caves 17 and 20) which was enlarged inwards in the sixth or seventh century A.D. when several cells and a shrine with a colossal image of preaching Buddha in Bhadrāsana attended by Padmapāṇi the Vajrapāṇi were added. Padmapāṇi is having a female by the side. Not much later in date is Cave 17, a gift of a Hinduized *Yavana* from Dattamitri, a town named possibly after the Indo-Greek prince Demetrius. Cave 19 is of one the earliest monasteries, excavated in the reign of the Sātavāhana king Kṛṣṇa (first century B.C.). The excavation of cave 10 is due to the Hinduized Śaka Uṣabhadata and his wife Dakṣamitrā, daughter of king Nahapāna (*Circa* A.D. 119.—25) of the Kshaharata family. A slightly later and more ornamental is cave 3, the gift of Gautami Bālśrī, the mother of the powerful Sātavāhana king, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī (*Circa* A.D. 106-30). The cave was dedicated to the Bhadra-yānīya monks. Among the caves with reliefs of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, cave 23 contains the maximum number of reliefs including one depicting the *mahāparinirvāṇa* and a number of female deities.

Another interesting site is Pauni. The finds of the remains include four pieces of upright and a fragment of coping forming part of an

composite culture was evolved in this area, in which there was considerable amount of Hellinistic impact. Indeed, Buddhist art and architecture of this region of Gandhāra were marked by an intermingling of Hellenistic and indigenous influences. Some of the foreign invaders were attracted by the religion of Śakyamuni, which freely admitted them into its fold. A large number of extant inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī script, recording gifts by these foreigners, of *Stūpas*, *Vihāras* and other objects of Buddhist association, bear eloquent evidence of the flourishing state of Buddhism in this region. The remains of the Buddhist edifices of various magnitudes also point to the same conclusion. Two foreign rulers, the Indo-Greek king Minander (*Circa* 115-90 B.C.) or Milinda of the *Milinda-pañha* and the Kushan king Kaniṣka (*Circa* A.D. 78-101), under whose auspices the Fourth Buddhist Council

imposing railing around the processional path of a *stūpa* and fragments of life-sized statues. The style of the railings and dedicatory inscriptions on uprights and copings indicate to belong to the Second Century B.C. The reliefs present a *stūpa*, a *Bodhi*-tree and a wheel. The excavations of Paunar (Tahsil and District Wardha) in 1968 has yielded a few fragments of Roman Amphoreae with traces on their interior of a resinous substance suggesting Roman trade with the country. The existence of a fragmentary edict of Aśoka at Devtek, District Chanda suggests that Paunar along with other parts of Vidarbha was included in his empire in the third century B C. Excavations at Paunar have shown that the antiquity can be stretched back to atleast the beginning of the first millennium when it was a tiny fishing hamlet. The finds include Red polished sherds, legged querns and beads of stones assignable to the Sātavāhana period. At Paunar a Kshatrap coin has been found. About the beginning centuries of the Christian era, this region, no doubt formed part of Sātavāhana Empire. A new painted pottery culture going back at least to the beginning of first millennium B.C. has been found from excavations. A few copper coins attributed to the Kadambas attest to the occupation of Paunar in the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. The real indigenous prosperity came into existence when Vākātakas and later the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ruled over the land. However, the decline came in the medieval period when the Islamic dynasties established their hegemony over the region. Images of the Vajrayāns pantheon and Brahamanical deities found here, suggest that Paunar Basked in the liberal patronage of the Gupta Vākātak Period.

was convened, were particularly remembered for their patronage in the Buddhist texts. The *Stūpa* which Kaniṣka built at Purushapur[1] (Peshawar), his capital, was one of the largest of its kind in India. Some of his coins bear representations of the Buddha. The inclusion of territories like Afghanistan and parts of Central Asia (Khotan. Yarkand and Kashgar) within this kingdom helped in the dissemination of Buddhism in these regions too. The Śaka Satraps, who ruled central and western India from the second century A.D. till their fall at hands of the Guptas towards the end of the fourth century, were also favourably disposed towards Buddhism.

1. The most notable monument in Gandhāra was, according to the Chinese pilgrims, the *stūpa* erected by Kaniṣka at Purushapura. This is the highest of the towers in Jambudvīpa, remarked Fa-hien. Yuan Chwang referred to a curious painting of the double-headed Buddha on the south face of the stair to the *stūpa*. The multi-storeyed monastery of Kaniṣka to the West of the Great *stūpa* was already in ruins at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, though it was occupied by a few Hīnayānist monks. Vīradeva, a native of Nagarhāra (Jalālābād), probably repaired this monastery for study, as attested by the Ghosrāwā inscription of the time of Devapāla, the third Pāla king. When the remains of the *Stūpa*, locally known as Shah-ji-ki-dherī, were excavated, in the relic-chamber was discovered the famous inscribed casket of Kaniṣka A copper coin of this king was found close to the relic-chamber. The inscription on the casket says that the gift was made for the Sarvāstivādin teachers. It also refers to Kaniṣka's *Vihāra* in Mahāsena's *Saṅghārāma*. The excavation yielded a number of stone and stucco sculptures and a clay tablet bearing the Buddhist creed in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. At Nanpur near Gilgit cantonement was found a mass of birch-bark and a few paper manuscripts inside the dome of a stupa, a practice widely current in Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan. They became famous as Gilgit Manuscripts ascribable to the sixth or seventh century A.D. They present Sanskrit texts, many of which are known only through their Chinese and Tibetan translations. They are the first of their kind discovered on the soil of India. The texts include a large number of *sūtras*, *Prajñāpāramita*. *Saddharamapuṇ darīka* and the Sanskrit *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Many of the manuscripts bear the names and *gotras* of the donors, one of them being king Śrīdeva Sāhā Surendra Vikramāditya. The relic-chamber yielded hundreds of small clay *stūpas* containing tiny tablets with the Buddhist creed.

Some of the caves of western India were their gifts. The monastery known as Mahārāja-Rudrasena-Vihāra at Intwa, 3 miles from the rock containing the edicts of Aśoka at Junāgarh in Gujarāt, was most probably built by the Śaka Satrap Rudrasena I (A.D. 199-222). The queen of the Ikṣavāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta (second half of the third century A. D.), a Śaka princess belonging to the Śatrapal family of Ujjain, made lavish donations to the Buddhist establishment at Nāgarjunakoṇḍā.[1]

1. The hill (Koṇḍā) of the famous Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna (contemporary of the second century Sātavāhana king) is 14 miles away from Macherla railway station (District Guntur, Āndhra Pradesh). According to the Bodhisiri inscription found from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā this teacher, is said to have spent his last days in a monastery on the Sriparvata (offshoots of the Nallamalai range) round this hill. The period of the intensive erectivity in the valley coincided with the rule of the Ikṣavākus specially Vīrapuruṣadatta, his son Ehuvula Cāmtamūla and the latter Rudrapuruṣadatta (*Circa* second or the third century A.D. and first half of the fourth century A.D.). No Buddhist structure could specially be ascribed to the reign of the Sātavāhanas, when very likely Buddhism existed here, though on a modest scale. A pillar inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Vijaya-Sātakarni opens with an invocation to agapogala, an epithet of the Buddha (*Ep. Ind.* XXXVI, pp. 273 and 274). The ladies of the Ikṣavāku dynasty were munificent patrons of Buddhist establishments. Available evidence points to a sudden failure of creative impulse of the fall of Ikṣvākus in the fourth century A.D. The complete absence of Buddhist sculptures later than the fifth century A.D. and also of even elementary Bodhisattvas is significant. The most outstanding feature of this centre was that a *stūpa* had rarely an existence, independent of a monastery. Almost all the establishments were self-sufficient, each having its own *stūpa* for worship and in important units a sanctuary. Side by side flourished different sects in their individual units. The names of only a few of these sects are preserved in inscriptions. Thus the Mahācaitya comprising the Great *Stūpa* was dedicated to Aparamahāvinaseliya sect (*Ep. Ind.* XXXV, p. 7-8). A, *stūpa* was dedicated by Bhaṭṭideva to the *ācāryas* of Bāhuśrutiya sect (No 9 of Longhurst). Kodabaliśrī of Vanavāsaka (Banvāsī, District Kanaḍa) donated a *Caitya* to the Mahisāsaka sect. A *Caityagṛha* was dedicated for the exclusive use of the Theravādin *ācāryas* of Ceylon. An inscription on a slete relieved with the foot prints of the Buddha found in iste 38 records

The beginning of the Christian era was an important landmark in Buddhist religion and art. The Fourth Buddhist Council officially recognized the emergence of the Mahāyāna. The goal of Mahāyāna was salvation of all beings, as distinct from the salvation of the individual which was the aim of Hīnayāna (or Śrāvakayāna). According to Mahāyāna anybody could become a Buddha by the greatest acquisition (pāramitā) of virtues. This paved the way for the emergence of a host of Bodhisattvas.[1] Simultaneously with the liberal interpretation of the doctrine was evolved the image of the Buddha, a manifestation of *bhakti* or devotional impulse. The Buddha was no longer a teacher whose presence was to be indicated by symbols. He was deified and as the saviour, his image was embellished and ceremonially worshipped with prayers and incarnations. The priority of the claims of the schools of the north-west, commonly known as Gāndhāra, and Mathurā as the first iconographer of the Buddha is still controversial. Available evidence points to the simultaneous appearance of images in both these regions during the reign of Kaniṣka. Based on the Indian conception of a great man (*mahā puruṣa*) with this distinctive marks (*lakṣanas*), both, independent of each other, created the image of the Master in their own way by reliance upon altogether independent art traditions and techniques. The result was that a great amount of variance was expressed in their respective productions. The images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the Mathurā art attained a heavy masculine form devoid of spiritual expression. In course of time, influenced by the ideology of *yogācāra*, this earthly

its installation in the monastery of Vibhajjavādin Mahāravasin teachers who converted Kāśmira, Gandhāra, Yavana, Banavāsa and Tāmraparnī dvīpa. Remains of more than thirty Buddhist establishments were brought to light, the majority of which were full fledged units. With rare exceptions all the main *stūpas* had āyakas (projections).

1. After Gautama Buddha some of the Bodhisattvas (beings striving for enlightenment), out of great compassion for the suffering humanity, pledged themselves never to seek Buddhahood till all beings are redeemed.

physical frame transmitted itself into the graceful and luminous figure of the Gupta period.

In the Buddhist images of the Gandhāra School there is representation of Indian myths and iconographical concepts in the Hellenistic garb. The model for the figures was provided by Greek divinities like Apollo, and in execution also Hellenistic technical details are fairly obvious. For four hundred years this school produced countless sculptures delineating in great detail the incidents of the Buddha's life from birth to death, real and legendary, as gathered from the Buddhist texts and traditions, as well as the figures of Bodhisattvas. Though this art failed to take deep root in the Indian soil, its importance in conditioning the Buddhist art of Afghanistan and neighbouring regions including Central Asia was very great. This school came to an end about the end of the fifth century A.D., when most of the Buddhist centres of the north-west, including Taxila, faced disaster at the hands of the ruthless Hūns who were hostile to Buddhism.

The introduction of the image of the Buddha met with universal approval. Mathurā[1] for some time catered to the needs of a large part of northern, central and eastern India as

1. Both inscriptions and sculptures attest to the existence of a flourishing Buddhist centre here. Thus, the Mathurā Lion-Capital inscriptions, of about the beginning of the first century A.D., record the establishment of *stūpa* and a monastery, by the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Ranjuvula, a Saka. Against the Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Huviṣka, dated in the year 51, commemorates the consecration of an image of the Buddha by a monk in the Mahārājādevaputra-vihāra, established by Huviṣka. Mathurā had many more *vihāras*, e g., Guhā-vihāra, Mihira-vihāra, etc. It was formerly nown as Madhuravana. The School of Mathurā, which produced the earliest image of the Buddha in the indigenous style found its fulfilment in the Gupta age which gave a new orientation to the earlier form. For a long time, the Mathurā School exercised considerable influence on the major portion of northern and central India. Unfortunately, not a sin le monument of this centre has survived. However, a large number of sculptures representing the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, reliefs depicting scenes from the Buddha's life and *Jātakas* and architectural pieces have been found sporadically in and around the city.

is testified by the occurrence of the images of the *atelier* of Mathurā at Sāñchī, Sāranātha, Kauśāmbī, Saheṭh, Berachampā (District 24 Parganas, West Bengal), Shaikhān Dherī (near Charsadā, Pakistan), Lumbini, etc. Among the south-eastern schools, Amarāvati took the cue at once and started making images of its own. Artists of Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Golī[2], Gummadidurru[3] and Āndhra centres,

2. Goli (District Guntur), 3 miles from Rentachintala, is the denunded site of a small establishment where once stood a small but profusely decorated *stūpa*. Most of the limestone sculptures are now in the Madras Museum. The few remaining sculptures, including a long frieze depicting the pathetic story of Nanda's forced ordination, left at the site were removed afterwards with the exception of a seven-hooded *nāga*. The frieze with the conversion of Nand found its way ultimately to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The friezes of the drum depict scenes from the life of the Buddha, like the Buddha's visit to Yaśodharā, subjugation of the elephant Nālāgiri, assault and temptation of Māra, offering of food by Sujātā and conversion of Nanda, and Jātakas, like *Mātriposaka Jātaka, Sasa Jātaka, Vessantara Jātaka, Chaddanta Jātaka*, etc. The *stūpa* is dated to the third century A.D. on the basis of a small fragmentary inscription.
3. Excavation in village Gummadidurru (District Krishna) 6 miles away from the Madira railway station, unearthed the lower portion of the Main *stūpa* and a dozen *stūpas* Remains of many more structures are still lying unexposed in the extensive area. This is one of the very few Andhra centres which had a prolonged existence, as is evident from an inscription of a second century A.D. on a votive *stūpa* and a find of one hundred and twenty-seven clay-tablets inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the mediaeval period The drum is adorned, as at Amarāvatī with an elaborate *stūpa* carved mostly with figures either with flames or with a *dharma-cakra* and a throne with symbols like foot prints at the base. The horizontal frieze which crowns the *stūpa* depicts scenes, which include those from the life of the Budda and Jātakas in larger compartments and a couple in smaller ones. The decoration of the drum was completed in the third century A.D. as evidenced by a damaged inscription on two pieces of a drum-frieze recording the construction of the Mahācaitya by a native of Dakṣināpatha. This is a standing figure of the Buddha in *vara-mudrā* containing dedicatory record, in character of about the seventh century A.D. Two pieces, forming part of the parapet of the drum of this *stūpa*, contain a fragmentary inscription pieces, in characters of the second century A.D.

went on carving figures of the Buddha. Free-standing images were enshrined in temples. The walls and facades of not only the new caves, but the old ones also were embellished with figures of the Budha and Bodhisattvas, either in relief or in painting.

Under the Ikṣvākus (third and first half of the fourth centuries A.D.) their capital Vijayapurī (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍā) became an important Buddhist centre. In spite of their Brahmanical faith, these rulers were favourably disposed towards Buddhism. An additional incentive was provided by the Buddhist female members of the royal seraglis. In such a congenial Nāgārjunkoṇḍā became a Buddhist pilgrimage in the third century A.D. A *Caitya-gṛha* was specifically constructed for the teachers of Ceylon who preached the religion in various places including Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta (Kirāta), Tosali (Dhauli, Orissa), Avaramta (northern Konkan), Vaṅga (parts of eastern and southern Bengal), Vanavāsī (North Kanara District), Yavana (Greek colony), Damila (Tamila country) Patura and Tāmbapanni (Ceylon).

The fourth century saw the establishment of the Gupta empire in northern and eastern India and the Kingdom of the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan. Though Hinduism was in ascendancy under the active patronage of the Gupta rulers. Buddhism, under an atmosphere of toleration, flourished equally, as may be seen not only from archaeological evidence but also from literary sources including the records of Fa-hien who travelled over the country between A.D. 400 and 411. By this time, many of the Buddhist centres stepped forward in producing Buddhist images of their own which were remarkable improvements over the Gandhāra hybrids and the archaic Mathurā sculptures. Among these, Sāranātha received the greatest celebrity. Bronze images exhale as typified in the life-sized figure of the Buddha from Sultānganj (Bihār), the strong accent of Gupta art. The images of the Buddha and a few of the Bodhisattvas like Padmapāni, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya interested the Gupta artists more than anything else. Among the life-scenes the eight great events (of birth, enlightenment, first sermon, demise and of miracles of descend-

ing from Trāyastriṃśa confounding the hereticals, taming of Nālāgiri and honey-bowl-offering to the Buddha by a monkey) became prominent and were often represented in one stele.

The Gupta age, in which the plastic conception found its fullest expression, inaugurated a new epoch in architecture also. One of the earliest specimens of temple to enshrine the image is temple 17 of Sāñchī. The Mūlagandha-kuṭī of Sārnātha belongs to the Gupta period. According to Yuan Chwang the nucleus of the Mahābodhī temple at Bodh-Gayā and a similar temple, rising to a height of 300 feet, built at Nālandā by Bālāditya are applicable to this category.

Stūpas continued to be erected as before (a good example being the Dhāmekh *Stūpa* at Sāranātha). Due to the dearth of body-relics, texts of the *Pratitya-Samutpāda-Sūtra*, tablets with the Buddhist creed and images of the Buddha were enshrined within the *Stūpas* during this period. The earlier *Stūpas*, having special sanctity, were enlarged as in the case of the Dharmarājika at Sāranātha.

The excavation of rock cut *Caitya-gṛhas* till the eight century A.D. was practised on a grand scale at places like Ajantā and Ellora[1]. The walls of the rock-cut caves and

1. The hill, 16 miles to north-west of Aurangābāda (Mahārāṣṭra) comprises twelve Buddhist caves which sprang up mostly in the reign of early western Cālukyas (sixth to the eighth centuries A.D.) and partly in the early part of the reign of Raṣṭrakūṭas. Most of the caves were originally painted, but now faint traces of paintings exist. The doors of the shrine-chambers are always flanked by towering Bodhisattvas, often in the company of other figures including female divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon. The figure of Mahāmāyurī, the Tāntric goddess of the Pancarakṣāmaṇḍala, occurs not less than five times. In one of these caves we find the function of Avalokiteśvara as the saviour of the Eight Great Perils, relegated to Tārā. In the earlier shrines the Buddha is invariably depicted in the company of two Bodhisattvas besides the flying Vidyādharas, but in later caves several other Bodhisattvas are introduced. The principal image of the Buddha is in a colossal scale and is generally represented in *dharma-cakra-pravartana-mudrā* in *pralambāda-asana*, but figures of the Buddha in bhumi-sparsa-mudra and dhyāna-mudrā occur in caves 11 and 12. Cave 2 consists of a verandah with recess at either side containing the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera in the north and Hāriti in the right besides figures of the Buddha in the company of Bodhisattvas. The right porch has a relief of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. Cave 10 (*Circa* seventh century A.D.) is the last noteworthy attempt of the *Caitya-gṛha*. The walls of the antechamber of the right flank are covered with reliefs of the Buddha and Buddhist divinities like Manjuśrī, Lokeśvara, Ārya-sarasvati, Mahāmāyūni, Matreya, Tārā and Bhṛkuti, while in the chapel is a figure of Lokeśvara. The left wall of the outer gallery conta ns a number of Buddhist figures and the Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of about the tenth century A.D. The remaining two caves, the latest Buddhist excavation at Ellora, are unique in conception and originality of composition. Both consist of a three-storyed edifice. Cave 11 is two-storyed. The ground floor has two cells and a central sanctuary with an image of the Buddha in *dhyāna* mudrā. This cave, later on, was appropriated by the Brahmanical votaries, as borne out by the figures of Mahisāsuramardini and Gaṇeśa carved on the wall of the hall. The ground floor of cave 12, called Tintāl, has three rows of pillars, and cells, some with stone beds. The shrine contains a colossal image of the Buddha. The divine Bodhisattvas, eight in number, are carved on the side walls.

their pillars were embellished with rich carvings. Its sphere of influence extended beyond the confines of India to Central Asia and Ceylon.

In the seventh sentury A.D. Buddhism found a staunch supporter in Emperor Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-648) of Kannauj. A glowing record of his activities has been left by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who was in India from A.D. 627-645. From his records it is clear that some of the old Buddhist centres including Kapilvastu, had been deserted, while several new centres had come into existence. The monastic establishment of Nālandā had already attained the status of a university where flowed streams of foreign students from all corners of the Buddhist world. Harṣavardhana's contribution towards the maintenance of this establishment was immense. I-tsing landed at Tāmralipti in A.D. 673 with a view to taking admission to this institution.

The Pālas (eight to twelfth century A.D.) of eastern India, the Chandras (tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. of Orissa were devout Buddhists. Under their active patronage

a number of new Buddhist centres sprang up in this region. Of the Buddhist monasteries built by the Pāla rulers, the Somapura-mahāvihāra, a quadrangular monastery with a terraced edifice in the centre, the largest of its kind in India, the Vikramaśila monastery at Āntichak-Patharghāṭa near Colgong, District Bhagalpur, Bihar, both founded by Dharmapāla (Circa A.D. 770-810), the second Pāla King, and Odantapuri-mahāvihāra, sited at Biharsharif, District Nālandā and Jagaddala-mahāvihāra, established by Rāmapāla (Circa A.D. 1077-1120) in Barendrī (northern Bengal) won international fame. Some of the Buddhist luminaries of these monasteries including Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa and Padmasambhava went to Tibet. One of the Buddhist establishments in Orissa, Ratnāgiri-mahāvihāra,[1] of which the nucleus was laid in the Gupta period,

but which attained real celebrity from the seventh century onwards, had an important place in the contemporary

1. Recent excavations on the top of the hillock brought to light the imposing remains of one of the most important Buddhist establishments, reclaimed as the Ratnāgiri-mahāvihāra (and not Puṣpagiri-vihāra as previously presumed) on the basis of a number of sealings bearing the legend *Śri Ratnāgiri-mahāvihriy-āryabhikṣu-saṃghāsya*, with its nucleus dating at least from about the fifth century A.D., the establishment witnessed a phenomenal growth in religion, art and architecture till the twelfth century A.D. It played a significant role in disseminating Buddhist culture and religion by forming itself, like Nālandā, an important religious and philosophical academy of the intellectual stalwarts of Buddhism. By the end of the thirteenth century, the building activities suffered a sharp setback as a repercussion of the disastrous inroad of Muslim invaders in large parts of India. However, though no longer in an affluent state, the Buddhists continued to maintain themselves for a few centuries more to sustain the dying flame of the faith till about the sixteenth century. Taranatha in his *History of Buddhism in India*, says that a *vihāra* called Ratnāgiri, was built on the crest of a mountain in the kingdom of Odivisa (Orissa) in the reign of Buddhapakṣa (identified with the Gupta Emperor Narsiṃgha Gupta Bālāditya by N. Dutt), and in this vihāra were kept three sects of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Śāstras, etc. Tibetan references indicate that Ratnāgiri was noted for the spiritual inspiration and lively pursuit of the *Kālcakra-tantra* in the later part of the tenth century A.D. The veracity of these references in the late Tibetan works is amply borne out by the excavated remains. The excavations laid bare the remains of an imposing *stūpa* (main *stūpa*), two magnificent monasteries, a single winged monastery, eight temples, a large number of *stūpas*, sculptures and architectural pieces, objects of daily use. Many of the *stūpas* bear the reliefs of divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon. As in most centres, originally there were two separate units, one representing the object of worship, i.e., *stūpas*, and the other residences of monks, i.e., monasteries. But in course of time both the complexes became connected by scores of *stūpa* and temples that cropped up between them. The excavations have yielded five terracotta plaques inscribed with *dhāraṇis*. Some of the *stūpas* have upon them various decorations in relief, a prominent motif being a row of *Vajras*. Some of the *stūpas* have niches with images of the Buddha, Dyāni-Buddhas, Tārā, Lokeśvara and sometimes deities of the Vajrayāna pantheon like Aparājita and Vajratārā. Figures of Gaja-Lakṣmī, Hāriti and Pañcika are also available. The cells have yielded bronze images, *stūpas* and *chatras*, myriads of clay sealings and two iron daggers.
When this monastery fell into clay, a complete overhauling took place some time after the eleventh century A.D. In this filling lay a good number of the sealings of the Ratnāgiri-mahāvihāra. The new facade was also lavishly carved, but the embellishment fell short of standard by the earlier builders. Erotic figures were introduced on the facade. Remains of eight temples were found in the excavations. These temples are not earlier than the tenth century A.D. and might have been even later. The image, in view of the palaeography of the inscribed Buddhist creed, belongs to the ninth century A.D. The second temple, of about the tenth century A.D., is a small sanctuary, *triratna* on plan. In the recess of the walls are affixed the stone images of Vajrarāga, Vajradharma or Rakta-lokeśvara and Vajrasattva. One of the temples preserves a four-armed image of Lokeśvara seated in *lalitāsana*. On the backside of the image are the Buddhist creed and a short *dhāraṇī* inscribed in characters of the ninth or tenth century A.D.
Among the antiquities of bronze images unearthed during excavations those particularly noteworthy are the images of the Buddha, both standing and seated, Lokeśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Yamārī, Tārā, and Jambhala, *stūpas*, *Chatras*, a female devotee and decorative pieces inlaid with stones. The other important finds comprise stone images of the Buddha, and Dhyānī-Buddhas and of divinities like Lokeśvara, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Manjuśri, Vajrarāga, Jambhala, Heruka, Sambhara, Hāriti, various forms of Tārā, Vasudharā, Āryesarasvatī and Aparājita belonging to different periods.

Buddhist world and was the resort of some of the most famous Buddhist teachers. Myriad of images of the Buddha and other deities in conformity with the growing expansion of the Buddhist pantheon are found here and also in the neighbouring hills of Lalitagiri and Udayagiri.

The period gave a great incentive not only to sculptors but also to metal-casters. Bronze images have been found in abundance in Achutrapur (near Banpur police station, District Purī, Orissa), Nālandā and Kurkihara[1] and to limited extent at Pahārpur-Somapur[2], Maināmati[3], Pahārpur-Fathehpur,

1. This is the site of the ancient Kukkuṭapāda-giri-vihāra referred to both by Fa-hien and Yuan-Chwang. It is at a distance of 3 miles to the northeast of the Wazirganj railway station in District Gayā, Bihar. Cunningham has noted a few inscriptions recording the constructions of a gandhakuṭi (temple) of Sugata (Buddha) by an inhabitant of Kerālā in Dakṣināpatha (South India). The temple is represented by the mound locally known as Sugataghara. The finds of hoards of bronze objects, now in Patna Museum, include among the Buddhist images a few of the Vajrayāna pantheon and a fairly large number of crowned Buddhas mostly bearing short dedicatory or Buddhist creed inscriptions. Of outstanding importance are images bearing the regnal years of the Pala kings like Devapāla, Rajyapāla, Mahipāla and Vigrahapāla. Two or three of this hoard, remarkable for their technical qualities, are generally taken to be pre Pāla on stylistic grounds. The inscriptions, both on the sculptures and bronzes record the pious donations of devotees hailing from distant lands, like Sākala (Sialkot in the Punjab), Kāñchī (Kāñchīpuram), Pāṅdya (extreme south) and the land of Bāli.
2. From the discovery of the sealings with the legend '*Śri Somapura Śrī-Dharmapāladeva-mahāvihāriya-ārya-bhikṣu-saṃghasya;* it is evident that this monastery was due to the munificence of Dharmapāla (*Circa* A.D. 770-810). The ruins of this monastery have been identified with those at Pahārpur (District Rājshāhī, Bangla Desh). The excavation of the mound yielded a vast monastic complex the biggest monastery so far exposed, comprising the usual residential cells of monks, places of worship and other ancillary structures situated within a single well-designed compound. Among the antiquities found here mention may be made of a few bronze images of the Buddha and Kubera, several stucco heads and a stone image of Hevajra with Śakti. To the east of the monastic establishment, was temple of Tārā. There are some terracotta plaques, bearing the figure of an eightheaded goddess, possibly some form of Tārā and of

Pātharghāṭā, Jhewarī (Chittagong, Bangla Desh), Śirpur (District Raipur, M.P.) and Ratnāgiri. Another great centre of

the Buddha. Tablets inscribing *dhāraṇī* have also been found. Monks of this monastery made donations at Bodh Gayā and Nālandā, as is evident from the inscriptions of those monasteries. The establishment continued to flourish till the twelfth century A.D., as is evident from the inscriptions.

3. Named after queen Madnāvatī of the Buddhist Chandra dynasty (*Circa* A.D. 900-1050) of Rohitagiri, probably represented by Lālmāi hill (ancient Devaparvata on which the Buddhist colonies cropped up from very early times), the site of Maināmati (Paṭṭikera) is 3 miles to the west of Comilla, District Tippera, Banglā Desh. The centre was in a flourishing state in the regime of the Khadgas (second half of the seventh century), the Devas (eight-ninth century) and the Chandras (tenth and eleventh centuries). Bhavadeva of the Deva dynasty built a *mahāvihāra* after his name. The establishment attained a celebrity as an important Buddhist centre before the eleventh century as is attested by the painting of a sixteen armed Chandra with the legend Paṭṭikera Chundāvarabhavane Chūndā on a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhaśrika-prajñāparamitā copied in A.D. 1015. As late as A.D. 1220 in the reign of Ranavankamalla Śrī Harikāladeva a land was granted in favour of Durgottara, a form of Tārā built in the town of Paṭṭikara. The donor is described as proficient in the rite of Sahaja Cult, a late Tāntric Buddhist cult. Tippera is one of the few districts where Buddhism has its followers down to the present day, the concentration being in the neighbourhood of Lakṣem. Bronze images of the Buddha, silver coins with the legend Pattikera, sculptures, ornamental bricks and terracotta plaques have been found from Maināmatī. Not less than twenty conspicuous mounds were located on the range. Some of them have been excavated. The excavation laid bare an exceptionally large monastery with one hundred and fifteen cells mostly containing a corbelled niche and an oven, sometimes with a cooking-pot on it. A sealing was found with the legend '*Śrī-Bhavadeva-mahāvihā (iy ?) -ārya bhikṣu saṃghasya*'. The finds inside the cells included a seal, sealings, bronze images of the Buddha, Tārā and Bodhisattvas like Padmapāṇi, copper plates and coins. Three miles north, at Kotila-muṇḍā was exposed another complex with *stūpas* and oblong halls enclosed by a compound wall. The site has yielded several terracotta tablets inscribed with *dharaṇīs*.
4. Bronze images including one plated with gold, mostly representing the Buddha, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Tārā, various kinds of tools for agriculture smithy, gold-work and pottery, stone images,

bronze-casting was Nāgapaṭṭinam, District Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu. Here as many as three hundred and fifty bronzes were found amidst ruins of the monastic establishment flourishing during the rule of the Colas, to which resorted a colony of Buddhists from Malay Peninsula and Sumatra with active help of the Śailendras. The Śailendra King, Māravijayottuṅgavarman completed here the construction of Cūlamaṇivarmā-Vihāra. According to a copper-plate Chola King, Rājarājā-I granted revenue of the village Anaimaṅgalem to this temple in A.D. 1006. The last glimpse of Nāgapaṭṭinam as a living centre is afforded by the Kalyāṇī inscription of A.D. 1476 of Dhamacheti (The King of Pegu) regarding the worship of a Buddha image at Padarikārāma of Nāgapaṭṭinam.

The rule of the Pālas also saw the growth of Tāntric Buddhism, which developed a highly esoteric yogic system of *sādhanā* with belief in the efficacy of magic spells and *mantras* and practice of *mudrās* (physical postures), *maṇḍalas* (mystical diagrams), *Kriyas* (rites), etc. The Mahāyāna, with these adventitious elements transformed itself almost beyond recognition into Vajrayāna (Tāntric Buddhism also known as Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna in its later developments) with its main focus in eastern and south-eastern India. The elementary pantheon of a few Bodhisattvas and Tārā was developed into an elaborate one with Ādi-Buddha, Dhyānī-Buddhas and their emanations in the persons of a host of divine Bodhisattvas and their female energies, entirely incompatible with the original creed of the Buddha. With *dhyānas* embodying new iconographical and religious concepts there grew up overwhelming number of images in stone and bronze, as found at Ellora, Nālandā, Bodh-Gayā, Kurkihār, various locations in Bengal and Orissa, Salihundam[1] (District Śrikākulam, Āndhra

tablets inscribed with the Buddhist creed and end texts, a miniature crystal stūpa, a gilt vajra and a Chinese copper coin of Kai Yuan (A.D. 713-41) have been found here.

1. The earliest stone inscription discovered here, belongs to about the second century A.D. and reads '*dharmaraño Asokasirino*'. But no

Pradesh), Amarāvatī and far south in Nāgapaṭṭinam. Lacking in spirituality, the latest images became dull and lifeless. So was the case with the Orissan School in its later phase, as practised during the later Somavaṃśīs (at the end of the tenth to the beginning of the twelfth century) and Gaṅgās (twelfth to fifteenth century). From the twelfth century onwards there was a marked decline in the building art also. By the close of this century almost all the important centres of northern, western and central India were affected by Muslim invasions, and there began a period of rapid decline. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the structures of the Vikramaśilā mahāvihāra were razed to the ground by the invaders. The same fate was met with by the Odantapurī-mahāvihāra and the establishment of Nālandā and long afterwards by Jagaddala in northern Bengal. The Muslim soldiers, under Muhammad-bin-Bukhtiyar Khalji committed a complete massacre of the shaven-headed monks of Odantapurī. The Buddhist kings Buddhasena and his descendants of Magadha succumbed to the new conquerors. Shorn of support and with monks either dispersed or made prey to the ruthless massacre, Buddhism fast died out except in the eastern districts of Bengal, as well as in a few isolated places in Bihar, Orissa and south-eastern coastal plains. Here also it was rapidly losing ground due to increasing want of donations and endowments, of both the rulers, who were now Muslims, and the laity, whose domestic rites of birth, marriage and death were guided not by the monks but by the Brahmins. In fact, it was the Buddhists of Ceylon and south-eastern Asia who were striving in this epoch to sustain the flickering light in the homeland of the religion. We find in the second half of the thirteenth century, a Ceylonese monk incharge of the Mahābodhī

remains, however, can definitely be ascribed to the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka. Salihundam had a prolonged existence and was in its later days greatly influenced by the Vajrayāna, possibly an infiltration from Orissa. Several images like a six-armed figure of Mārichī, a four-armed of Bhṛkuti and two-armed of Tārā and two-armed of Manjuśrī have been found here.

tempel at Bodh-Gayā, the cost of the repairs of which was defrayed by the Burmese. Another Ceylonese teacher repaired the temple at Amarāvatī in the fourteenth century. The flourishing state of the centre at Nāgapaṭṭinam was mainly due to the zeal of the colonists from Malay Penninsula and Sumātra and the Chinese. The factors responsible for the decay and ultimate disappearance of the religion about the fifteenth century were, thus many. The only parts of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh where the faith has survived amidst small section of the population are Chittagong (Bangla Desh) and its neighbourhood bordering Burma, Darjeeling bordering Nepal, North Eastern Frontier Agency and Ladakh and adjoining hilly region bordering Tibet.

We would now like to discuss the conditions of Buddhism in the monastic universities of India.

Section IV

MONASTIC UNIVERSITIES

We know that none of the Gupta kings was a professed Buddhist. Only one of the Guptas is said to have been brought up in his youth under Buddhist influence. He was Prince Bālāditya who had the famous Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu as his tutor. Bālāditya, afterwards built a great Buddhist temple at Nālandā. It is evident, however, that the attitude of the Gupta kings towards Buddhism far exceeded the tradition of kingly liberality to religious institutions. They themselves founded Buddhist monasteries and helped in building them and maintained monk-communities with land-grants. We have it on the statements of Chinese pilgrims, based undoubtedly on local information, that the great establishment at Nālandā was the achievement of the Gupta kings. None of archaeological remains and relics at Nālandā points to pre-Gupta time.

The Pālas, as the inscriptions on their coins show, were Buddhists, but the Buddhism professed by them was not what had prevailed in Gupta age. The religion entered a phase in which the *Mahāyāna* philosophy, of which Nālandā had

hitherto been the intellectual stronghold, had slanted off to an esoteric cult known as *Vajrayāna* (Tāntric Buddhism). The earliest exposition of this cult is in two works: the *Guhysamāja Tantra* and the *Manjuśri Mūlakalpa*. *Vajrayāna* stemmed undoubtedly out of some of the doctrines of *Mahāyānist* philosophy. Its sponsors and exponents were known as *Siddhas* or *Tantra Guru*, corresponding to the Āchāryas of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. But in its development in their hands it took a shape in which spells and magical rites and practices supposed to be capable of producing supernatural effects predominated. Nālandā of the Pāla period is scarcely represented in the Chinese records. In fact, there are few instances, after the turn of the eighth century, of Chinese monks coming to India for study and learning. But from Nālandā and other centres Indian monks did not cease to migrate to China. They introduced into the country the prevailing *Tāntric* Buddhism of India of the period. Thus in A.D. 716 Subhākara, a monk of Nālandā; in 719 A.D. Vajrabodhi, a *Tāntric* Buddhist monk from south India; in A.D. 760 Amogh Vajra and Dharmadeva from Nālandā, and in 793 A D. Dānapāla went to China for the purpose. Thereafter Tibet took the place of China in cultural intercourse with India and we have thus the arrival of Thonmi Sambhota and later Dharmasvāmin at Nālandā, Naropā and Dharmakīrti at Vikramaśilā; and so also we see Padmasambhava, Śāntrakṣita and Kamalaśīla going to Tibet.

The Pāla kingdom lived throughout under a constant threat of Muslim invasion from Doab, the bordering region of Uttar Pradesh between the Ganges and the Jamunā where the Turukas and Khiljis from Afghanistan had settled themselves with expansionist aims. The Pāla territories at one time embraced a part of the Uttar Pradesh and large parts of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. But around the beginning of the twelfth century the Brahmanical Sena dynasty occupied the major portion of their territory in Bengal. At last came the inevitable mighty tide of Muslim invasion and conquest from the Doab, which relentlessly swept away both the dynasties.

India is a country which prides in its past, and the ancient

glory of the country rests mainly on its academic and cultural achievements centred round Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and other monastic universities. We know, while Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India it experienced a great revival in Eastern India under the Pālas. Nālandā dominated the whole Buddhist world for nearly three centuries i.e., from the 6th to the 9th. New institutions founded under the Pālas at Jagaddal and Vikrampurī, Vikramaśilā and Odantpurī acquired great importance and almost monopolized the commerce in Buddhist culture from the 9th to the 12th century. After this the religion of Buddha disappeared from the land of its nativity.

Among the monasteries which functioned as universities the names of Taxila in Gandhāra, and Nālandā and Vikramaśilā in Magadha are well-known. The monastic remains already brought to view, except at Taxilā, are mostly of the Gupta or post-Gupta age. The remains of the Taxilan monasteries are the most ancient hitherto discovered. Before the Hun invaders laid it waste in the fiftn century A.D , the Taxilā region under the Kushān kings (first to third century A.D.) had been a flourishing seat of Buddhism. It covered three city-states, now known as Bhir mound, Sirkah and Sirkush, where *Saṃgha* life appears to have flourished in a number of large monastic establishments. There is no sign of post-Kushān art or culture and no trace of monastic ruins of the B.C. centuries has been discovered so far. It is said that Taxilā was a famous seat of learning specializing in medicine and horses' training.[1]

As regards Nālandā, it may be noted that it grew from a village to a township and is described in a legend as influential, prosperous and full of folk[2] This well-populated township naturally attracted the great religions of the time. The Buddha, Nigaṅṭha Nātaputa and Makhali Gośāla visited this place in course of their preaching mission. But its coming to lime-light was, however, not earlier than the fifth century A.D. when (according to Hsuan Tsang and the Korean visitor Prjñavarmana)

1. Mahāvagga, Seṭṭhibhariyā vatthe.
2. Kevatta Sutta, *DN.I, p 183*,

a Gupta king, probably Śakrāditya[1] (also known as Mahendrāditya) founded a Mahāvihāra here. This is supported by the fact that Fa-hsien, who toured Northern India including Pāṭaliputra and Gayā in A.D. 400-11, does not mention it better than a village called Nāla which was celebrated as the birth-place of Sāriputra. It seems that with the establishment of Śakrāditya's monastery the site of Nālandā acquired a new interest for the Gupta rulers. This monastery was afterwards further extended by Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya and Vajra and some other kings of Gupta dynasty. All these monasteries, together with another built afterwards by a certain king of Central Asia, were brought into aggregation by the same foreign king when he built around these edifices a high wall with one gate. The whole was converted into a *Mahāvihāra*, a unitary establishment, and started to function as such. Several specimens of the later official seal of the etablishment set forth its unitary corporate character.

On Gupta coins and in the epigraphic records of the Gupta period no Buddhist sign or symbol appears inasmuch as the kings of this dynasty except one Bālāditya, professed Brahmanical faith. The reason underlying this liberality on the part of the Gupta kings of Brahmanical faith towards Buddhism was that by the time of Śakrāditya, Buddhist monasteries like those at Nālandā had developed more as seats and centres of learning than of Buddhism.

The fame, that Nālandā acquired when it developed into a monastic university. is evident from the eagerness of foreign monk scholars coming over there from China, Tibet and other countries for higher studies. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, was in residence here. He stayed for about six years, and the last Chinese traveller I-tsing for ten. The priests belonging to the convent or those joining from outside, all, in the words of Hwui-li (Yuan Chwang's diciple and biographer), studied *Mahāyāna* and also the works belonging to the *Hinayāna* sects, and not only there but even secular works,

1. Indentified with Kumār Gupta I (A.D. 415-455).

such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetu Vidyā* (Logic), *Śabdavidyā* (grammar and philosophy), *Cikitsā Vidyā*, the works on magic (*Atharva Veda*) and *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. Besides these, they thoroughly investigated the miscellaneous works of literature and general knowledge. Nālandā had a system of specialization. Yuan Chwang writes in his famous travels that the fact of being even admitted to the university after being tested by the learned gate-keeper, was in itself an acknowledgement of the eminence of the scholar. No scholar was considered brilliant and distinguished enough unless he had a degree from Nālandā. I-tsing found on going to Nālandā, that its rules and regulations were still more strict than those of Varaha monastery at Tamralipti.

Nālandā's academic and intellectual life is described by Yuan Chwang in the following eloquent words of praise: "The day is not sufficient for the asking and answering of profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide. The routine of daily life was mainly divided between study and religious rites only. Time was regulated, says I-tsing, by a clepsydra (water clocks).[1] The inmates met at fixed hours for lectures and discourses in separate groups in different schools. Within the shrine stood the holy image of *Avalokiteśvara* or *Tārā*. The head of the establishment was probably called *Adhyakṣa* (as he was called at Vikramaśilā). Next in official position to the abbot was an officer called *Karmadāna*, i.e. one who gives various action[2] or one who regulates for the inmates 'what to do and when in the daily routine.' He seems to have had general overall charge of management, superintending the buildings, regulating time, arranging the order of precedence at a congregational

1. Takakusu's *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 144.
2. Ibid, p. 148.

feast, etcetera, in short preserving regularity and order in the establishment. Another important officer was the door-keeper used to hold screening examination of candidates seeking admission to one of the schools of Nālandā."

As an educational institution Nālandā had produced scholars of very high calibre, such as the famous travellers Yuan Chwang and I-tsing of China, the philosopher Āryadeva of Ceylon, Bodhi Dharma of Tukhār, Ārya Burman of Korea and many more. From the galaxy of Nālandā's brilliant professors, the names of Nāgārjuna—the great philosopher, Dharmapāla—the great Pali commentator, Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti—the great logicians, and Śāntarakṣita who established the Dhamma in Tibet, will always be written in golden characters in the history of Buddhism and Indian culture. Subhākara (716 A.D.) and Dharmadeva (latter half of tenth century), both monks from Nālandā visited the Chinese capital. Śāntarakṣita and Kamalśīla also (from the same place) visited Tibet for introducing into the country the prevailing *Tāntric* Buddhism of India of the period.

As regards the campus, there are three impressionist sketches of it of three different centuries—the first of Hsuan Chwang of A.D. 637, the second of Maladas of a century later in a dedicatory inscription and the third of Dharmaswāmin who came to Nālandā in 1235 A.D. when it lay sprawled amidst its widespread ruins. The campus caught and ravished the eye by its grandeur and magnificence. New monastery construction and alteration of old structures at different periods of Nālandā's history are referred to in legends as well as in lithic records. King Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇa Dvīpa (*Sumātrā*) built a monastery to which king Devapāla (C. 815-54 A.D.) granted five villages. Moditabhadra, a Buddhist sage is said to have built a large number of temples and monasteries at Nālandā after Turuṣk ravages. Vipulaśrimitra built a *Vihāra*. Vīradeva in the reign of Devapāla (C. 815-54 A.D.) made reconstructions and repairs.

In the Tibetan legends mention is found of Nālandā's great library buildings. They were huge many-storeyed edifices located in a part of the campus known as *Dharmagañjā*

and three of them bore the fancy names as Ratnodadhi (a nine storeyed building), Ratnasāgara and Ratnaranjaka. These libraries, as a Tibetan legend reports, perished in flames kindled by an incendiary. Traces of damage caused by outbreaks of fire are seen on the brick, but they show at the same time that conflagrations, of which there is mention also in one inscription of the eleventh year of Mahipāla's reign (C. 988-1026 A.D.)[1], were localised and did not spread over to destroy the whole campus.

Among the great donors who had raised this institution of Nālandā to such eminence, mention may be made of such great monarchs as Samudragupta, Śrī Harṣa, Dharmapāla, Mahipāla and so on. It is said that even King Aśoka had visited this place and built a monastery as a centre of *Punna* around the *Dhātu Cetiya* of him who was the most wise (i.e., Sāriputra) among the disciples of the Tathāgata. There had been many other kings who had spent all their treasures in developing and maintaining this great international centre of learning.

After the sack of Odantapura Mahāvihāra, Nālandā may have been the target of attack by roving bands of Muslim soldiery. Taranatha says that much damage was done with the result that many monks deserted it. The Tibetan monk Dharmaswāmin shows (see Biography of Dharmaswamin by G. Roerich), though doomed to death, Nālandā, was fated not to die, for teaching and learning was going on here for at least on four decades. Eighty small *Vihāras*, damaged by the *Turusks* and deserted by monks, were still there and, beyond, as many as eight hundred. Rājā Buddhasena of Gayā (Vajrāsana) had been then the patron of Nālandā. Somewhere here a nonogenarian monk-teacher named Rāhula Śribhadra along with his seventy pupils had still made his dwelling and taught them Sanskrit grammar. He lived on a small allowance for food given by a Brāhmaṇa lay-disciple

1. Nalanda Stone Inscription of Mahipala I (Year 11) 3—"Agnidāhoddhāre. . . . . .", R.K. Chaudhary, *Selected Inscriptions of Bihar*, p. 69 and Sankalia, *University of Nalanda*, p. 69.

named Jayadeva who lived at Odantpurī. Time and again came threats of an impending raid from the military headquarters posted at Odantpurī, only a *yojana* far from Nālandā. Jayadeva himself was suddenly arrested and thrown into a military prison at Odantpurī. Pandit Nainasing (one of Waddel's collaborators) states that the monastery contained four large colleges and several other buildings and was enclosed by a lofty circular wall about a mile and a half in circumference, with gates facing the cardinal points, and along the top of walls were many votive brick *caityas* which were covered with inscriptions. In the centre of the enclosure there stood the assembly hall. The idols and images contained in the temples of the *Mahāvihāra* were of pure gold and were ornamented with valuable cloth and jewels.

Nālandā was perhaps the longest lived of the *Mahāvihāras* of India. Its history falls into two main divisions : the first one of growth, development and fruition from the fifth to the ninth century when it was dominated by the liberal cultural traditions inherited from the Gupta age, and the second one of gradual decline and final dissolution from the ninth century to the thirteenth—a period during which the *Tāntric* development of Buddhism became most prominent in Eastern India under the Pālas and laid their killing influence on Nālandā's culture. There is also a pre-history of over a century when Nālandā was in the making by Gupta kings from Śakrāditya to Vajra.

The other pre-eminent *Mahāvihāra*, spoken of by both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing was at Vallabhi in western India. It was then (in the seventh century) the largest *Hinayānist* establishment in India as Nālandā was the largest *Mahāyānist* one.

On the break up of the Gupta empire round the middle of the sixth century A.D., India became once again a string of regional histories of small kingdoms with shifting boundaries. Among these kingdoms, however, the Maitraka kingdom in Saurāṣṭra (Gujarat) with its capital at Vallabhi inherited the Gupta tradition of royal patronage to monasteries. Buddhism flourished at its capital Vallabhi which rose to widespread fame as the centre of learning and commerce.

Vallabhi (modern Vala, district Bhavnagara, Rajasthan) a petty township of about 7,000 inhabitants and hardly three square miles in extent eastward of the Bay of Combay, spread many centuries ago right down to the coast. There were imports from Persia or Rome with which Vallabhi was in commercial intercourse in ancient times. Along with these antiquities there has also been found a number of scattered Buddhist antiquities, about two dozen copper plate-charters small images and Buddha-heads and tiny terra cotta tablets called *Dharma Gutikas* with the formula of the Buddhist creed: "*Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā*", inscribed on them in characters of about the seventh century A.D.

When the Gupta empire was tottering to its fall, an army officer of the Guptas, named Bhattāraka, carved out of the dissolving empire a feudatory state for himself in Saurāṣṭra. He made Vallabhi its capital and founded the Maitraka dynasty. Their capital became a far-famed centre of learning. The Maitraka kings professed the *Brahmanical Śaiva* faith. The royal seals on their copper-plate-grants bear the sign of Nālandā (Śiva's Bull) above the name of the founder of the dynasty. Bhattāraka. Yet all of them made several money-grants and land-grants to the Buddhist monasteries that sprang up in the capital and its vicinity. Sthirmati and Gunamati, the two distinguished *Mahāyāna* masters and disciples of Vasubandhu, had come here and settled in a monastery with a view to pursuing uninterrupted philosophical studies and literary labour. Yuan Chwang visited the ruins of this monastery in 640 A.D. during king Dhruvasena. He says that the city of Vallabhi has some hundred *Sanghārāmas* with about 6,000 priests studying *Hinayāna* and there are several hundred *Deva* temples.

Dudda, who was the grand daughter of Bhattāraka and sister's daughter of his son and successor named Dhruvasena I, founded a monastery which became the nucleus of an extensive monastic group known as *Duḍḍa Vihāra Maṅḍala.* It was looked after by the state. Later royal grants refer to it by this name or call it a *Mahāvihāra,* which means a number of monasteri es aggregated as one establishment. The *Duḍḍa* *Maṇḍala* of monasteries was for the use of monks only. But another *Maṇḍala* founded by Yakṣaśrī was intended for nuns By the time of Guhasena, a king of later generation, the monasteries were organised or were in the process of organisation as seats of study and learning and were building up libraries This is suggested by the acquisition of books on Buddhism *Saddharmasya pustakapatra. . . .*) as mentioned in the list of grant made by Guhasena in 565 A.D. to the Dudda monastery. It was Hīnayānist monks mainly who occupied these monasteries. Yet Buddha Pūjā, i.e., the ritual image-worship seems to have been a major activity of the monks attended with due rites and ceremonies.

After the reign of Śīlāditya III (A.D. 690-710) the Maitraka kingdom went into dissolution and was succeeded by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Danti Varman and Dhāravarṣā, the two Rāṣṭrakūta kings, made grants at Kāmpilya for the usual purposes of a monastery. Kāmpilya was a township in Saurāṣṭra on the outskirts of modern Surat. It seems to have been the last stronghold of Buddhism in ancient Saurāṣṭra. I-tsing, who visited Vallabhi, says that it was usual for learners after preliminary training, to resort to Nālandā or to Vallabhi for further studies. He further adds that eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became far-famed for their wisdom.

The existence of Jaina as well as Brahmanical institutions for learners at Vallabhi under the Maitraka regime is based on historical evidence. The Buddhist monasteries did not enjoy a monopoly in this matter. But the royal endowments were made mostly on the Buddha *Vihāra Maṅḍala.*

The death-blow to Vallabhi came from the Tajjika (Arab) invaders, perhaps some time in the eighties of the eighth century A.D. They reduced all its edifices including the Maitraka monastery to rubble and dust. But there is no historical account of the final demolition of Vallabhi except only a few fantastic legends from different sources.

In the neighbourhood of Nālandā there was another monastic university called Odantpurī-Mahāvihāra at modern

Biharsharif town, which later on became the military headquarters of the Muslims. The founder of Pāla dynasty Gopāla is said, in the Tibetan legends, to have founded in the early half of the eighth century a *Mahāvihāra* of grand proportions in the newly built city of Odantapur, only about a *yojana* (seven miles) from Nālandā. At this time also Nālandā was still functioning as *Mahāvihāra* for the last two centuries and was perhaps not in decline. The Pāla kings were Buddhists.

In course of time, other seats of learning, for which Nālandā was the most obvious example, were established by other kings of the dynasty. In the narratives of the lives of eminent Buddhist saints and scholars, interspersed in Tibetan History, references are made to their occupancy of the headship of different centres of Buddhist learning—Vajrāsana, Nālandā, Odantapura and Somapura. There is evidence in Tibetan legends that there used to be migration of scholars from one place to another. Afterwards all the Pāla establishments, including Nālandā itself came under the aegis of the Pālas. The great Atiśa Dīpāṅkara Śrī Jñāna received ordination at Nālandā, studied there and also at Odantpurī and finally became the head of Vikramaśilā from where he was escorted to Tibet. Vipulaśrī, a resident of Somapura (Paharpur), has left an inscription at Nālandā recording his construction of a temple to Tārā at Somapura, as well as the erection of a monastery at Nālandā. When Śākya Śrī Bhadra coming all the way from Kāshmīr to Magadha in A.D. 1212 to visit all Buddhist centres of learning found Odantpur and Vikramśilā laid waste by the Muslims, he betook himself to Jagddal in Bengal where he found pupils and disciples. Thus the different seats of Buddhist learning functioning under the Pāla were an interlinked group of institutions.

With the Odantpurī *Mahāvihāra*, the names of some great and famous monks are associated in Tibetan legends. Atiśa Dīpānkar Śrījñāna studied here for two years under Dharmarakṣita, a *Hīnayānist* teacher. One Tibetan legend puts the number of its inmates at 12,000. But towards the end of the eleventh century A.D. it must have gone far into decline which can be inferred from the *Stotra* of eighty *Ślokas*

in which Naga-tso, a Tibetan disciple of Atiśa, mentioned Odantpurī with its fifty-three monks and Vikramśilā with about a hundred. They were all put to death when Ikhtiyar Khilji's soldiers swooped down upon it a round 1198 A.D.[1] It was not possible for the Afghan soldiers to distinguish a Buddhist monastery, not to tell Buddhist monks from Brāhmaṇa priests. A fierce assault was directed upon the *Mahāvihāra* at Odantpur. The story of this assault was told long after in A.D. 1243 by an eyewitness to the Persian historian Minhaz who reported it in his work Tabaquat-i-Nasiri. It is said that Ikhtiyar went to the gate of the fort of Bihar with only two hundred horses and began the war by taking the enemy unawares. In the service of Ikhtiyar there were two brothers of great intelligence, Nizamuddin and Samsuddin. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were *Śramaṇas* with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there.

Besides Nālandā and Odantpurī there was one more monastic establishment in Magadha. It was the Vajrāsan monastery. We have very little information about this establishment. We know that Atiśa went over Vajrāsan monastery at Bodh Gaya where he studied *Vinaya Piṭaka* under Śīla Rakṣita. It is only from the accounts of the Tibetan monk Dharmaswāmin that we get the details of Vajrāsan. There was a good deal of intercourse between Tibet and Northern India during A.D. 600-1800. Dharmaswāmin's one ambition from his childhood was to visit India and offer his prayer at the Vajrāsan. The stories of the dangers on the way from robbers, wild animals and Muslim soldiers did not unnerve him and he reached there. It was then the capital of the Magadhan king Buddha Sena (1234 A.D.). Mahābodhi temple of Bodh Gaya is not mentioned by Fa-Hien, but Yuan Chwang describes it in details and gives its height as 160 ft. The latter further adds that in his days Vajrāsan was covered with sand and would not be seen. But this could not, however, be tolerated by the Buddhists for years together. At the time of Dharmaswāmin's visit it was deserted

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 42.

and only four monks were found staying (in the *Vihāra*). Our pilgrim had also to hide himself along with those four seventeen days till they were informed that the Muslim forces had departed.

At Vajrāsan there were numerous holy objects of worship such as the *Bodhi* tree, the image of *Mahābodhi*, the *Gandhola* or *Gandhakuti* (Pinnacle) erected by *Dharmarāja* Aśoka, the corner-tooth of Tathāgata, the two foot-prints of the Blessed One on the empty-stone-throne of Śākyamuni, the stone-railing erected by Ārya Nāgārjuna and the temple of Tārā known as the Tārāvihāra. Bodh Gaya was then under the predominant influence of the Ceylonese monks, who were all *Hīnayānists* and had no soft corner for the Tibetan *Tāntrics* and *Mahāyānists.* Our pilgrim says that the Ceylonese monks, 200 in number, were in charge of the worship at Mahābodhi temple. It may be noted here that in the fourth century A.D., for the first time a monastery was built with permission of Samudragupta. During the visit of Dharmaswāmin, Odantpurī had become military headquarters of Muslims, Vikramaśilā had been razed to the ground and Nālandā was still imparting education to 94 monks under Rāhula Śrībhadra and at Vajrāsan our pilgrim could see no scholar. It may, however, be noted here that our information about Vajrāsan as a university is quite scanty.

The old prestige of Nālandā seems to have devolved upon Vikramaśilā in the Pāla age. Nandalal Day identified Pātharghāṭa (anciently called Śīlasamāgama) with the site of, Vikramaśilā. The claim of Colgong has been advanced in recent times. The place abounds in Buddhist ruins. It is now under archaeological explorations.

We know about this university from Taranath's history of Indian Buddhism and other Tibetan sources. The monasteries of Vikramaśilā were situated on a bluff-hill on the right bank of the Gangā where the holy river flows northwards. The sight is under excavation. Vikramaśilā was known to the Tibetans and there was intercourse between Vikramaśilā and Tibetan Buddhist centres. Hence Tibetan traditions about the *Mahāvihāra* has some claim to authenticity. These traditions agree about its location on a

hill on the bank of the Gangā. It was in its peak period under the patronage of the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal—a grand and stately establishment with six noble gates, each guarded by a *Dvārapaṇḍita* or gate-keeper scholar of the university. The university granted the degree of *Mahāpaṇḍita* and *Paṇḍita*, equivalent to Master of Arts. The pictures of most eminent among the *Paṇḍits* and *Mahāpaṇḍits* of Vikramaśilā, it is said, decorated the wall. Lama Dharmaswāmin, who came to Nālandā in 1235 A.D. reports about the Vikramaśilā *Mahāvihāra* to the following effect as detailed in his biography: "Vikramaśila was sill existing in the time of the *Sthavira* or elder Dharmaswāmin (A.D. 1153-1216) and the Kashmīrī *Paṇḍita* Śākyaśrībhadra (A.D. 1145-1225). But when Dharmaswāmin visited the country in 1235 there were no traces of Vikramaśilā left: The Turusk soldiery, having razed it to the ground, had thrown the foundation stones into the Gangā. Perhaps after the destruction of Odantpura, it had been subjected to repeated raids at the hands of the Turusks. Both Taranatha and Sumpa refer to Dharmapāla as the founder of Vikramaśilā. But according to another tradition it was founded by King Devapāla. Sumpa describes it as a *Mahāvihāra* with a surrounding wall which is said to have been built by one Buddha-jñāna-Pratiṣṭha; outside this circuit wall and probably all round it were 107 temples; within the closure were fifty-eight *Saṃsthās* (institutions) in which 108 *Paṇḍits* (professors) lived. Taranatha refers to its six gates, each of which was kept by an eminent *Paṇḍita*. The Tibetan legends say that, when in the reign of king Rāmapāla, Abhayakaragupta was its head, there were 160 professors and 1,000 resident monks at Vikramaśilā. It appears from the legends that a functionary whose designation was 'guardian of the gate' acted both at Nālandā and at Vikramaśilā. Nālandā had one gate, while Vikramaśilā had six, each kept by a *Dvārapāla*—a scholar of high eminence. The famous *Tāntric* saint (*Siddha*) and scholar Naropa, the disciple of a Tibetan saint, named Tilopa, held the office of the keeper of the northern gate of the establishment. Here Tibetan scholars, of whom had the Indian name Dharmakīrti, translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan. The work of the six *Dvārpālas* of Canaka's reign (A.D. 955-83) are

extant in the Tibetan *Tanjura* and *Kanjura.* Vikramaśilā was identified with the study and cultivation of *Tāntric* Buddhism. This study was divided into different branches. Of the *Adhyakṣas* or head of the establishment of Vikramaśilā, the names of Buddha Jñānapāla—the first *Adhyakṣa,* Jetari who was at first a Dvārapāla but rose to be *Adhyakṣa,* Abhayakaragupta, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, Sākya Śrībhadra and of some others are given here and there in the legends.

About the third Pāla establishment (the first two being Odantpurī and Vikramaśilā), mention may be made of the Dharmapāla *Mahāvihāra* of Somapura. Hsuen-tsang, in course of his travels eastwards in Northern India, came in A.D. 639 to the province called Puṇḍravardhana which covered the modern districts of Bogra, Dinājpur and Rājshāhī, now in Bangla Desh. He noticed some Buddhist establishments here, but remarks that the Jains or the Nirgranthas are the most numerous.[1] Among the many Jain temples and monasteries of this region was an ancient Jain establishment at the village of Paharpur in the district of Rājśāhī. When this part of the country came under Pāla dominion, Buddhism became the dominant religion. The site which had been well-known in this part and presumably a popular resort was selected by the Buddhist Pāla king Devapāla (A.D. 810-50) to be the site of a *Mahāvihāra,* known as the Dharampāla *Mahāvihāra* of Somapura, now called as the village of Ompur about a mile off. The existing establishment was overhauled and remodelled and the Jain temple rebuilt as a Buddhist one. A *Mahāvihāra,* centring round and dominated by a temple which is seen here, is a somewhat rare phenomenon among the monastery-ruins of Northern India. Intercourse in the Pāla period between this *Mahāvihāra* and that of Nālandā is suggested by the decorative style of a stone-temple at Nālandā (site no. 2) where terra-cotta plaques are raised in rows exactly as in this temple. A number of Somapura and of Nālandā sealings refer to two persons Dharmasena and Siṅhasen who were the two officers in-charge of supervision of *Mahāvihāra* of the Pāla regime. Besides, the inscription at

1. Beal's *Buddhist Records,* II, p. 195.

Nālandā of Vipulaśrīmitra of Somapura shows that he built a monastery at Nālandā and a Tara temple at Somapura, and carried out large renovations of monastic cells at the latter place.

The establishment of Somapura seems to have been designed for the occupation of some 600 to 800 inmates. In the eleventh century the number probably diminished to half. The *Mahāvihāra* must have existed and functioned over nearly four centuries i.e. from the early ninth century when it was founded by Devapāla to the late twelfth when the cataclysm of Muslim invasion overtook all Pāla Buddhist institutions. It carried on the Nālandā tradition which had passed on to Odantpura and Vikramaśilā and was inherited by it. Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna of Vikramaśīlā, before his departure for Tibet, stayed here for some time and wrote the *Mādhyamika Ratna Pradipa,* the Tibetan translation of a work by Bhavya. So also Prajñaśrījñānakīrti translated the *Dharmakāya-Dipa-Vidhi* into Tibetan at this *Mahāvihāra. Paṇḍita* Śarana was the head of the assembly of *Yogins* in the town of Somapura. One Viryendra, a native of Samtata (South-East Bengal), made a donation at Bodh Gaya and describes himself in the donatary inscription as belonging to Somapura. Around the middle of the eleventh century one Jātvarmā, who perhaps migrated from the south and set up a kingdom of Varman family in East Bengal, sent troops to destroy the then flourishing Buddhist Dharmapāla monastery of Somapura which was put to fire. But the *Mahāvihāra* was not destroyed. Rapair and renovation seem to have gone on by fits and starts over a century after. Vipulaśrīmitra took a large hand in the restoration. The downfall of the establishment by desertion or destruction must have been some time in the midst of the widespread unrest and displacement of population consequent on the Muslim invasion.

The last great seat of Buddhist learning founded by a Pāla king was Jagaddala in Northern Bengal, formerly know as Vārendra or Varendrī. The *Mahāvihāra* flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1130 A.D.) who is said to be its founder. The Pāla kingdom in his time was tottering to its fall. This Buddhist monastery of Jagaddala is mentioned in the Sanskrit epic

known as *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviya* composed by the king's court-poet Sandhyākaranandi. From the description of the monastery therein it appears that in Rāmapāla's time Buddhism prevailed in Vārendri and had its centre at the Jagaddal monastery. The monastery became a resort of scholars of *Tāntric* Buddhism. It seems also to have been in lively intercourse with Tibetan centres of Buddhism. A large number of the *Tanjura* and the *Kanjura* texts, both original and translation from Sanskrit, is said to have been made or copied in the monastery of Jagaddal. The existence of Ramāvatī as the capital of Rāmapāla can be traced down to the reign of Akbar the Great (A.D. 1556-1605), but the history of Jagaddal monastery stops short near the turn of the thirteenth century. Jagaddal was intact until Śākya Bhadra came here and found his *Guru* Subhākara Gupta, a saint and scholar. Śrī Bhadra's disciples named Vibhuticandra and Dānaśīla were scholars of Sanskrit and Tibetan at Jagaddal. They were *Tāntric* Buddhists and are mentioned with the appellations *Paṇḍita, Mahāpaṇḍita, Upādhyāya* or *Ācārya* in the Tanjura texts. They took refuge, leaving Jagaddal, to escape from the Muslims. The situation that was unfolding in northern Bengal at the time is thus summarized by the Tibetan historian. At the time of Lavaṅgsena (the first ruler of the Sen dynasty) some *Bhikṣus* were sent as emissaries to the region between the Gaṅgā and the Jamunā (i.e., the place where theTuruṣks were settled). The Turuṣks were combined. They destroyed Odantpura and Vikramaśilā and killed many *Bhikṣus*. At that time Śākya Śrībhadra fled towards Jagaddal. Three years after that, he reached Tibet. Others fled to other places (perhaps Burma and Cambodia). But at Jagaddal the old *Vidyās* were still pursued in the midst of the *Tantras*. Mokṣakargupta devoted himself to the study of the main branch of *Mahāyānist* learning, *Hetu Vidyā* (science of logic). He appears to have been more a scholar of the old school than a follower of the *Tantras*. The condition to which the city of Ramāvatī with *Mahāvihāra* was reduced by Turuṣka ravages which overtook them probably around 1207 A.D., some time after Odantpurī and Vikramaśilā had been destroyed, is not known. The great monastery must have been deserted altogether, but the site of Ramāvatī seems

to have been repopulated after the Muslim conquest and continued, as its mention under the name of Ramauti in the *Ain-i-Akbari* shows, for at least three to four centuries more.

In the subsequent chapter we would like to discuss the expansion of Buddhism to foreign lands.

12

Expansion of Buddhism to the South

Section I

BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

In the whole of the history of Buddhism Ceylon holds an enviable position both as a recipient and also as a contributor to this faith. The most detailed account of the spiritual conquests of Buddhism in the days of Aśoka is the story referring to the conversion of this island which is recorded in the *Dīpa Vaṃsā* and *Mahāvāṃsa*, the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Saddhamma Saṅgaha*. The school of Buddhism now professed in Ceylon, Burma and Siam is rightly called Sinhalese, not for the reason that its doctrine originated in Ceylon, but for the fact that the school ceased to exist in India, and in the middle ages both Burma and Siam accepted the authority of the Sinhalese *Saṃgha*.

The island, according to the Sinhalese tradition as recorded in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, first came into contact with northern India about the time of Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa* in course of the expedition of Vijaya, who landed in the island of Tāmraparṇī after completing his voyage from Lāla (Midnapur) via Bharukaccha (Broach) and settled there along with the seven hundred immigrants following him and the island was then named as 'Siṁhala' after the line possessed by the family of

this Vijaya Siṁha. Even if we do not believe the tradition, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Vijaya introduced into Ceylon the elements of Buddhism, which was really a remarkable form of religion in India in his time. We are not ready to accept the account of the miraculous transportation of the three preceding Buddhas and Gautama's repeated visits to Ceylon for arranging its conversion. It appears to have been invented probably in order to enhance the glory of the island. But the legends relating how Pāṇḍuvāsudeva came from India to succeed Vijaya, how he subsequently had a Śākya princess brought over from there to be his wife and how her brothers established cities in Ceylon, suggest that Sinhalese kept up intercourse with India. The *Mahāvaṃśa* relates that king Pāṇḍukābhaya built religious edifices for *Niganthas*, Brāhmaṇas, *Paribrājaks* (possibly Buddhists) and *Ājivakas*. Then king Devānāmpiya Tissa (Circa 245 B.C.) is said to have sent a complementary mission bearing wonderful treasures to his friend Aśoka, who had never met him. Aśoka is reposed to have sent magnificent presents to the king of Ceylon and advised nim to find salvation by taking refuge in the law of Buddha. The Sinhalese tradition agrees on the whole with the data supplied by Chinese pilgrims and Indian inscription and pictures found at Sāñcī regarding the interest taken by the Indian Emperor in the spiritual welfare of the island. The historical narrative is similar in all the three principal repositories of Sinhalese tradition, viz., the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the historical preface of Buddhaghoṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*. All later works recounting the conversion of Ceylon are founded on the last book which appears to be re-arrangements of the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*, i.e., commentaries of the Porāṇa or ancients written in Siṁhālese prose and scattered Pali verse on the *Tripiṭaka*.

The momentous project of despatch of missionaries to convert foreign countries was initiated by Emperor Aśoka and Moggliputta as a result of the decision taken in Pāṭaliputra council. The conversion of Ceylon is ascribed to Mahendra, Aśoka's son according to the tradition and his younger brother according to Yuan Chwang. Chronicles state that accompanied

by four brethren, Mahendra departed from Pāṭaliputra and travelled to Vedisagiri, from where he along with his companions went over to the Missaka mountain (modern Mihintale) and met king Devānampiya Tissa there. He preached *Hatthipāda Sutta* to the king and his hunting attendants who were all converted. Then Mahendra and his followers proceeded to Anurādhapura, where they were received with all honour and enthusiasm. He preached first in the palace and then to the general public. The king dedicated to the Saṃgha the Meghavana, which became the site of the Tissārāma or the famous *Mahāvihāra.* It became the citadel of orthodoxy preserving our version of the Pali Piṭakas. Devānampiyatissa is represented as having sent two further missions to India: the first in quest of relics, which when brought were deposited in Anurādhāpura and the *Thūpārāma* dagoba[1] was built over them; and the second to bring a branch of the *Bodhi* tree and Saṅghamitrā. The tree was planted in the Mahāyāna and Saṅghamitrā ordained Princess Anulā. This king probably died in 207 B C.

A descendant of Tissa, called Duṭṭhagāmanī erected *Stūpas*, monasteries and the tower *Lohaprāsāda*,[2] which underwent numerous reconstructions and modifications till the reign of Parākrama Bāhu I about 1150 A.D. Of great importance for the history of the Singhalese *Saṃgha* is the reign of Vattagāmanī Abhaya. The Abhaya Giri monastery established by him, says the *Nikāya Sangrahawa*, embraced the doctrines of the *Vajjiputtaka* and was known as the *Dhammaruci* school in Ceylon. The Abhayagiri monastery became the enemy of the Mahāvihāra and the dispute resulted in the *Piṭakas*, which was as yet orally preserved, being committed to writing. This version of the scriptures was not universally accepted. It included the *Parivāra* which was a recent manual composed in Ceylon. Buddhism evidently flourished, but we also hear of heresy.

In the third century A.D. king Mahāsena built a monastery called Jetavana which became the headquarters of the then

1. Dhātugarbha (pagoda).
2. *MVam* Ch. *XXVII*, Verses 3, 4 and 20.

Sagāliya sect. His son Sirimeghavanna, says the *Culavaṃsa*, rebuilt the *Lohapāsāda* and caused a golden image of Mahendra to be made and carried in a procession. But he did not neglect the Abhayagiri and gave it partial custody of the celebrated Buddha's tooth relic, which was brought to Ceylon from Kaliṅga. The cults of the Tooth flourished exceedingly in the next few centuries.

Fifth century is remarkable for the literary activity of Buddhaghoṣa (an Indian according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and a Thaton according to the Burmese tradition). He resided in Ceylon during the reign of Mahānama and wrote several theological treatises in so authentic and authoritative a way that his works were regarded as the words of the Buddha himself. On the advice of his teacher Revata he came over the island with a view to translating the Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhī. He proved his competence for the task by writing the celebrated *Visuddhimagga* and was allowed to translate them while residing at the Ganthakāra Vihāra. He completed his commentaries on the four great *Nikāyas*, on the *Abhidhamma* and on the *Vinaya* on the basis of the *Paccari*, the *Kurundi*, the *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* or traditions of the *Porāṇa* (ancients) said to be composed by Mahendra in Sinhalese language. These Sinhalese commentaries have disappeared. His works are in no way coloured by the Mahāyānist tenets which were already prevalent in India, but state in its severest form the Hīnayānist creed, of which he is the most authoritative exponent. When, according to the *Budhaghosuppatti*, Buddhaghoṣa's works were regarded as highly as the works of the Buddha, the suspicion naturally arises that the Pali canon may be partly his composition based on the oral teaching on the subject by Mahendra and resembling some passages referred to in the Aśokan inscriptions. There was scope, no doubt, of considerable variation in the text without altering the sense and a certain terminology till the canon was committed to writing and the *Parivāra* was included in it. Buddhaghoṣa makes a clear distinction between text and comment. He discusses various readings and explains difficult words. But there is no evidence that Buddhaghoṣa or anyone else enlarged

or curtailed the canon and allowed himself any discretion of selection in dealing with the sacred texts accepted by the *Mahāvihāra*. But, we hear of a convocation about three *Piṭakas* soon after the departure of Buddhaghoṣa and during the reign of Dhātusena. This implies that there was still some doubt as to what the scripture was.

Dhātusena, though an orthodox monarch, was addicted to sumptuous ceremonies in honour of images and relics. After Dhātusena, Siṅhalese history degenerated into a complicated story of crime and discord which made the Tamils powerful until the accession of Vijaya Bāhu in A.D. 1071. His successor, Parākramabāhu (twelfth century A.D.) was lavish in building monasteries, temples and liabraries. Qualified *Theras* were brought from Burma to make up the deficiency. The king, in order to secure unity among the quarrelling monasteries, summoned a synod at Anurādhapura. The *Mahāvihāra* was recognised as the standard of orthodoxy. Lands, revenues, guest-houses and hospitals were provided for the monasteries. Killing of animals was forbidden.

After Parakramabāhu, the Tamils again occupied many districts and were seldom dislodged. Buddhism tended to decline but was always honoured as the state religion. The *Mahāvaṃsa* states that in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., Parakramabāhu II celebrated splendid festivals and imported learned monks from the Cola country. The Kalyānī inscription suggests that Sinhalese religion enjoyed a great reputation in Burma towards the end of the fifteenth century. Buddhism met a further set-back occasioned by the Portuguese sovereignty in the sixteenth century A.D. when they wanted to propagate Roman Catholicism, states the *Mahāvamsa*. The Dutch were welcomed by Kandy. They acted as the allies capable of expelling the Portuguese until they themselves became the masters of the great part of the island. They also tried to enforce Christianity and to prohibit Buddhism within their territory, but hatred of the Roman Catholic Church made them favourable to Buddhism This tendency continued till the possessions were taken by the British in the eighteenth century. But things have entirely changed after the independence of the

island when effective steps are being taken for the restoration and promotion of the national religion and culture.

Section II

BUDDHISM IN BURMA

The early history of Buddhism in Burma is obscure, and different writers have maintained that it was introduced from Northern India, the east coast of India, Ceylon, China or Camboja. All these views may in a measure be true, for there is reason to believe that it was not introduced in one epoch or from one source or in one form. About the introduction of Buddhism into Burma it may be noted that there are various legends current in the country and even outside. Aśoka is supposed to have dispatched missionaries to Suvarṇa-bhūmi. In Thailand and Cambodia also there are legends about the introduction of Buddhism in Suvarṇa-bhūmi lying in their own territories. But we must come to historical records which are meagre in comparison to legends that are current. There is no historical evidence supporting the above legends.

Suvarṇabhūmi was a term broadly used in ancient times to denote that part of South-East Asia which now includes Southern Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Malaya. Keeping in view the abundance of nature in that part of Asia, the term 'Suvarṇabhūmi' meaning 'Golden Land', seems but appropriate. Regarding Burma, it may be noted that the *Dipavaṃsa*, which states about it, was composed in the fourth century A.D. and taken from older chronicles. And hence it may be concluded that in the early centuries of our era Burma had the reputation of being a Buddhist country. Barring, however, the story of Uttara and Sona preserved in the Ceylonese chronicles regarding the introduction of Buddhism into Burma, there is no evidence that Buddhism flourished there before the fifth century A.D. Considering the close proximity of Burma to India, and the existence of not too difficult land-routes between the two even before the Christian era, the possibility is not altogether excluded that Buddhism found

its way to Burma from India even before, perhaps long before, the fifth century A.D. But from this period onwards there are definite records to prove not only the existence but also the flourishing state of *Theravāda* Buddhism in the old kingdom of the Pyus known as Śrikṣetra with its capital near Prome, the ruins of which lie in modern Hmawza. The archaeological evidences furnished by inscriptions on the golden plates found at this site, and the Chinese accounts leave no doubt that the Theravāda form of Buddhism with Pāli canonical texts was introduced in the region round Prome not later than the fifth century A.D. by Indian missionaries who came from the eastern coast of the Deccan and South India. Traces of *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, Mahāyānism and Tāntric Buddhism probably coming from Bengal and Orissa, i.e., the Eastern India are also found in the ancient buildings and sculptures of the country. Taranatha is said to have stated that among the Koki countries, Pukham (Pagan) and Hamsavatī (Pegu) Hīnayānism was preached from the days of Aśoka onwards, but that the Mahāyāna was not known until the pupils of Vasubandhu introduced it. But Atiśa (C. 1000), a great figure in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, is reported to have studied both in Magadh and in Suvarṇadvīpa, by which Thaton is suggested. He would hardly have done this, had the clergy of Thaton been unfriendly to Tāntric learning. The mediaeval Buddhism was also mixed with Hinduism. However, few Śaivite emblems, but numerous statues of Viṣṇuite deities have hitherto been discovered in Burma.

As regards Upper Burma, it may be added that any variety of Buddhism or Brahmanism may have entered this region from India by land during any epoch. The existence of early Sanskrit inscriptions at Taungu and elsewhere has been discovered. Figures of Bodhisattvas and Indian deities are reported from Prome, and in Lower Chindwin district are rock-cut temples resembling the caves of Barabar in Bihar.

Regarding the Chinese influence in Burma, it may be noted that Burmese kings sent religious embassies to the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti about 525 A.D. The *Tang Annals* state that the inhabitants of Burma were devout Buddhists and

that there were a hundred monasteries, into which the youth entered at the age of seven, but left at the age of twenty if they did not intend to become monks.

In Pagan the history of Buddhism becomes clearer in the eleventh century. In the first half of this century, several forms of religion existed mostly perhaps in corrupt form. The *Sāsanavamsa* relates that king Anawrata broke up the communities of Aris at the instigation of Arhanta. He settled the texts of the *Piṭakas* after comparing its Thaton and Ceylonese versions. The Burmese canon adds four works to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, namely; *Milinda Pañha, Nettippakarana, Suttasaṅgaha* and *Peṭakopadesa.* From the time of this king until later decades of the thirteenth century, Pagan was a great centre of Buddhist culture not only for Burma but for the whole East. Towards the end of his reign he made not very successful attempts to obtain relics from China and Ceylon and commenced the construction of the Shwezigon Pagoda. He died before it was completed but his successors finished the work and constructed about a thousand buildings among which the most celebrated is the Ānanda temple erected by king Kyanzittha.

Of the Pali literature in Burma mention may be made of the grammatical treatises known as the *Kārikā* and the *Sadda Niti.* Some treatises on the *Abhidhamma* were also produced.

The latter half of the fifteenth century is the most important period for Buddhism in Pegu under the reign of Dhammaceti, also called Rāmādhipati. He is known as the author of the Kalyānī inscription of Zaingganaing in Pegu mentioning the proper method of defining and consecrating a *Sīmā* or boundary, i.e., a plot of ground within which *Uposatha* meetings, ordinations and other ceremonies can take place. In Southern Burma Dhammaceti founded six schools, viz. the Camboja or Arahanta school, the three Sinhalese schools founded by Chapata's disciples and the two more Sinhalese schools founded by the *Theras* of Martaban. He sent a mission to Ceylon in order to obtain the authoritative ruling from the Mahāvihāra as to the method of consecrating a *Sīmā*

and conferring ordination. All the monks of his kingdom were reordained accordingly in a locality known as the Kalyānisīmā. The religion is said to have been purified by making the school of the Mahāvihāra the only sect.

In the early portion of the sixteenth century, Thohanbwa, a Shan king of Āvā, endeavoured to exterminate the order by deliberate massacre. But Bayin (or Bureng) Naung forced the Shans and Muslims of the northern districts, and indeed all his subjects, to make formal profession of Buddhism. He made not very successful attempts to otbain the tooth relics from Ceylon. His active patronage of the faith was probably exercised chiefly in Pegu. His successors encouraged religion and literature. The study of *Abhidhamma* was flourishing in the districts of Āvā and Sagaing till the middle of this century and many illustrious exponents were found there. A national and religious revival came with the victories of Alomprā. But in the eighteenth century also a controversy concerning the manner in which the upper robe of a monk was to be worn spread to Ceylon as well and continued for about a hundred years. The Saṃgha became divided into two factions known as *Ekamsika* (one shouldered) and *Pārupana* (fully clad). This Alomprā appeared as a modern Aśoka when the court religiously observed *Uposatha* days and he was believed to be a Bodhisattva. King Bodopaya (A.D. 1781-1819) commanded the *Pārupana* discipline to be observed and the royal order received obedience. This Bodopaya appointed four elders of repute to be *Samgharājas* or Bishops with four more as assistants, and over them all his chaplain Nana as Archbishop. The Church was flourishing during Bodopaya's reign. Burma sent to Ceylon not only the monks who founded the *Amarapura* school but also numerous Pali texts. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, the ecclesiastical history of Burmā, was composed during the reign of Mindon-min (A.D. 1852-1877). The king himself convened the Fifth Buddhist Council continuing from A.D. 1868-1871 in order to recite the *Tripiṭaka* for establishing the correct text. The result may still be seen at Mandalay in the collection of buildings commonly known as the four hundred and fifty Pagodas. Miṇdon-min also corrected the growing laxity of

the Bhikkus. The king's successor Thibaw was deposed by the British. The appointment of Samgharāja, which, as yet, was made by the king and not by the Saṃgha, was now since 1903, made from amongst the superiors in the whole order by an election among the monks themselves and the person thus elected was recognised as the Thathanbaing.

The court astrologers, soothsayers and professors of medicine, astrology, *Kāmaśāstras*, etcetera of Burma were even in recent times Brāhmaṇas, known as *Ponas*, whereas monks would not attend social gatherings. *Nat*, i.e., spirit worship in Burmese religion is a superstition.

Buddhism is a living force in Burmese life. Every male Burman, with a view to become a respectable human being other than a mere animal enters a monastery for at least a week's stay when he is about fifteen. It is the greatest ambition of most Burmans to built a Pagoda. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda, which is a veritable pyramid of gold, attracts pilgrims from all the Buddhist world as it is reputed to contain also the relics of the three preceding Buddhas.

The anti-clerical sects like the Soutis and the men of the Shan states and of Pegu and Tenasserim, refuse to recognise the Samgha, monasteries or temples and perform their devotion in the open fields. The orthodox Samgha is divided into two school of the *Mahāgandi*, i.e. the moderate easy-going majority, and the *Sūlagandi*, i.e. strict and Puritanical majority protesting against such concessions to the flesh.

Section III

BUDDHISM IN INDO-CHINA

Siam (Thailand)

The Buddhism of Siam does not differ materially from that of Burma and Ceylon but merits separate mention, since it has the speciality that this independent kingdom is ruled by a monarch who is also head of the church. It is perhaps the only country in the world where the king is constitutionally stipulated to be a Buddhist and the upholder of the Faith. It

is one of the countries where Buddhism still exists as a living force exerting tremendous influence on the life of its people in all its aspects. It is called the land of yellow robes, for yellow robes are garments of Buddhist monks. But how did this great faith reach the country ?

Different opinions are still held with regard to the exact date when Buddhism reached Siam, now officially known as Thailand which was so named after the Thai race threw off the yoke of the Cambojans. Some scholars hold that Buddhism was introduced into Thailand during the reign of Aśoka, the great Indian emperor. Others are of the view that Thailand received Buddhism much later. Judging from archaeological findings and other historical evidence, however, it is safe to say that Buddhism first reached Thailand when the country was inhabited by the Mon-Khmer, who had their capital, Dvāravatī, at a city now known as Nakon Pathom (Skt. *Nagara Prathama*), about 50 kilometres to the west of Bangkok. The great Pagoda at Nakon Pathom, *Phra Pathom Chedi* (*Prathama Cetiya*), and other historical findings in other parts of the country testify to this fact as well as to the fact that Buddhism, in its varied forms, reached Thailand at four different periods, viz. (1) *Thera* or Southern Buddhism, (2) *Mahāyāna* or northern Buddhism, (3) *Pagan* or Burmese Buddhism and (4) Ceylonese Buddhism. Let us now consider each of these periods in brief.

That the first form of Buddhism introduced to Thailand was that of *Theravāda* school, is proved by various archaeological remains unearthed in the excavations at Nakon Pathom, such as *Dharma Cakra*, the Buddha's foot-prints and seats, and the inscriptions in the Pali language, all of which are on rocks. Such objects of Buddhistic veneration existed in India before the introduction of the Buddha image, which appeared later. Buddhism, thus appears to have reached Thailand during the third century B.C. and it might have been more or less the same form of Buddhism as was propagated by the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka. This form of Buddhism was known as *Theravāda* or *Hīnayāna*, in contradistinction to *Mahāyāna*. When the worship of Buddha image became popular in India, it also spread to other countries where Buddhism had

already been introduced. This is borne out by the fact that many Buddha images, especially those of the Gupta style, have been found in the ruins of Nakon Pathom and the neighbouring cities. Judging from the style of the Buddha-images found, it can also be assumed that the early Buddhist missionaries to Thailand went from Magadha in India. The *Mahāvaṃsa* records that the missionaries despatched by Aśoka to as many as nine territories included one headed by Sona and Uttara sent to Suvarṇabhūmi the locality of which is still disputed. As regards the claim of Thailand to identify the town of Nakon Pathom as the site of Suvarṇabhūmi, it may be added that the archaeological finds unearthed in the area surrounding that town support the claim to the extent that nowhere in any of the contesting countries, not even at Thaton in Burma, could one find such a large and varied number of ancient relics as were found at Nakon Pathom. By age and style these archaeological objects may be assigned to the times of Aśoka and the later Guptas. Even the great *Stūpa* (*Phra Pathom Chedi*) at Nakon Pathom itself is basically similar to the famous Sānchī *Stūpa* in India, built by Aśoka. Moreover, the name *Pathom Chedi* (Pali *Pathama Cetiya*) means first Pagoda which, in all probability, signifies that it was the first Pagoda built in Suvarṇabhūmi. This would easily fit in with the record of the *Mahāvaṃsa* that Sona and Uttara went and established Buddhism in the territory of Suvarṇabhūmi at the injunction of Emperor Aśoka. Taking cognizance of the fact that Aśoka reigned from 269 to 237 B.C.,[1] it may be reasonably concluded that Buddhism first spread to Thailand during the third century B.C.

As regards Mahāyāna or Northern Buddhism, it may be noted that with the growth of this form of faith in India, especially during the reign of king Kaniṣka who ruled over Northern India during the second half of the first century A.D., the sect also spread to the neighbouring countries, such as Sumātrā, Jāvā and Kamboja (Cambodiā) in and after the fifth century A.D. It is probable that Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced to Burmā, Pegu (lower Burmā) and Dvāravatī (now Nankon Pathom in

1. *The History of the Buddhist Thoughts* by E.J. Thomas.

Western Thailand) from Magadha at the same time as it went to Malay Archipelago. But probably it did not have any stronghold there at that time ; hence no spectacular trace is left of it. By about 757 A D. the Śrīvijaya king with his capital in Sumātrā rose in power and his empire spread throughout the Malay Peninsula and archipelago. Part of South Thailand (from Surasthani downwards) came under the rule of the Śrīvijaya king. Being Mahāyānists, the rulers of Śrīvijaya gave much encouragement and support to the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In South Thailand today we have much evidence to substantiate that once Mahāyāna Buddhism was prevalent there. This evidence is in the form of *Stūpas* or *Cetiyas* and the images including votive tablets of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, which were found in large number, all of the same type as those discovered in Jāvā and Sumātrā. The *Cetiyas* in Chaiya (Jaya) and Nakon Śrī Thammarath (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja) both in South Thailand, clearly indicate Mahāyāna influence. From 1102-1182 A.D. kings belonging to the Sūrya-varman dynasty ruled supreme in Cambodia. Their empire extended over the whole of present day Thailand. Being adherents of Mahāyāna Buddhism with a strong mixture of Brahmanism, the Suryavaraman dynasty did much to propagate and establish the tenets of Northern School. A stone inscription, now preserved in the National Museum at Bangkok, tells us that in about 1017 A.D. there ruled in Lopburi, in Central Thailand and once a capital city, a king who went from Nakon Śrī Thammarath and who traced his ancestry to Śrīvijaya rulers. The king had a son who later became the ruler of Kambuja and who, more or less, kept Thailand under the suzerainty of Cambodia for a long time. During this period there was much amalgamation of religion and culture of the two countries. The stone inscription under consideration probably refers to one of the Sūryavarman kings who had blood relationship with Śrīvijaya rulers. From this inscription we also learn that at that period the form of Buddhism, prevalent in Lopburi was that of *Theravāda*, and that Mahāyāna Buddhism, already established in Cambodia, became popularized in Thailand only after Thailand had gone under the sway of Cambodia. There

are no indications, however, that the Mahāyāna school superseded the Theravāda in any way. This was due to the fact that Theravāda Buddhism was already on a firm basis in Thailand when the Mahāyāna school was introduced there. That there were monks of both schools, *Theravāda* and Mahāyāna in Lopburi during those days, it indicated in a stone inscription in the Cambodian language, found in a Brahmanic temple within the vicinity of Lopburi city itself. Much of the Brahmanic culture which survives in Thailand till today could be traced to its origin from Cambodia during this period. Many of the Cambodian kings themselves were zealous adherents of Brahmanism and its ways of life. This period, therefore, can be termed Mahāyāna period. Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, took its root deep in Thailand during these times.

Regarding the Burmese Buddhism it must be remembered that in 1057 A.D. king Anawratha (Anurudha) of Burma having his capital at Pagan (Central Burma) extended his kingdom right up to Thailand, especially the Northern and Central parts covering areas now known as Chiengmai, Lopburi and Nakon Pathom. Being a *Theravāda* Buddhist, Anuruddha ardently supported the cause of Theravāda, which Burma, like Thailand, at first received directly from India through missionaries sent by Emperor Aśoka. However, at the time under consideration, Buddhism in India was already in a state of decline, and as contact between Burma and India was then faint, *Theravāda* Buddhism, as prevalent in Burma at that time underwent some changes and assumed a form somewhat different from the original doctrine. This, at a later stage, became what is known in Thailand as Burmese (Pagan) Buddhism. During the period of King Anuruddha's suzerainty over Thailand, Burmese Buddhism exercised great influence over the country, especially in the north where, owing to proximity, the impact from Burma was more felt. It is significant that Buddhist relics found in North Thailand bear a striking *Theravāda* influence, whereas those found in the south clearly show their Mahāyāna connections dating back to Śrīvijaya days. To a great extent this is due to the fact that,

in their heyday of suzerainty over Thailand, the Burmese under Anuruddha were content with upper Thailand only, while leaving the south practically to be ruled by their Khmer (Cambodian) vassals whose capital was at Lopburi.

The original home of the Thai people was in the valleys between the Huang Ho and the Yangtze Kiang in China. From the second century B.C. they began to migrate southwards as a result of constant friction with the neighbouring tribes. They became separated into two groups, the Thai Yai group, which settled in the plains of the Salween river, Shan States, and other areas and spread on as far as Assam ; and the Thai Noi group, settled in what is today termed Thailand. The Thais were able to establish their independent state at Sukkhothai (*Sukhodaya*) in North Thailand about 257 A.D. It was during the period of their movement southwards that the Thais came into contact with the form of Buddhism as practised in Burma and propagated under the royal patronage of king Aniruddha. Some scholars are of the opinion that as Mahāyāna Buddhism had spread to China as early as the beginning of the Christian era, the Thais, while still in their original home in China, must have already been acquainted with some general features of Buddhism. The Thais were able to exert themselves even more prominently in their southward drive. Thus they came into close contact with the Khmers, the erstwhile power, and became acquainted with both Mahāyāna Buddhism and Brahmanism as adopted and practised in Kamboja. Hinduism was already firmly established in Cambodia at that time. Of the period under reference it may be observed that Northern Thailand from Sukhothai District upwards came very much under the influence of Burma (Pagan Buddhism), while in the Central and Southern parts of the country many Mahāyāna beliefs and practices, inherited from the days of the Sūryavarmans and the Śrīvijayas, still persisted.

Ceylonese Buddhism is a form of Buddhism which remains dominant in Thailand until today. About 1153 A.D. the Ceylonese king Parākramabahu the Great (A.D. 1153-86) was a great supporter of *Theravāda* Buddhism. He did much

to spread and consolidate the *Dhamma* of the Lord in his island-kingdom He caused (according to some scholars of Southern Buddhism) the seventh Buddhist council to be held and *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, i.e. doctrine and discipline revised and strengthened. Buddhism thus consolidated itself in Ceylon and the news spread to neighbouring lands. Buddhist monks from various countries, such as Burma, Pegu (Lower Burma), Kambuja, Lanna (North Thailand) and Lanchang (Laos) flocked to Ceylon in order to acquaint themselves with the pure form of the *Dhamma*. Thailand also sent her Bhikkhus to Ceylon and thereby obtained the *Upasampadā Vidhi* (Ordination Rite) from Ceylon, which later became known in Thailand as *Lankāvamsa*. This was about 1257 A.D. Apparently the early batches of *Bhikkhus*, who returned from Ceylon after studies, often accompanied by Ceylonese monks, established themselves first in Nakom Śrī Thammarantha (South Thailand), for many of the Buddhist relics bearing definitely Ceylon influence, such as *Stūpas* and Buddha images, were found there. Some of these relics are still in existence today. King Ram-Kamhaeng, who was ruling at that time, invited those monks to Sukhothai, then the capital of Thailand, and gave them his royal support in propagating the doctrine. This fact is recorded in one of the king's rock inscriptions, dated about 1277 A.D. Since then Cylonese (*Siṅhala*) Buddhism became very popular and was widely practised in Thailand. The Thai kings Mahā Dharamarāja Lithari of Sukhothai dynasty and king Borom Trai Lokanāth of early Ayudhya period, even entered the Holy order or *Bhikkhu Samgha* according to the Ordination Rite of *Laṅkāvamsa* Buddhism by inviting a patriarch from Ceylon. Many monasteries, *Stūpas*, Buddha-images and even Buddha foot-prints, such as the well-known one at Sraburi in Central Thailand, were built in accordance with the usage popular in Ceylon. The study of Pali, the language of *Theravāda* Southern Buddhism, also made great strides and in all matters, dealing with the *Dhamma*, the impact of Ceylon was perceptibly felt. However, there had been no antagonism between the different forms of Buddhism already in existence in Thailand and the *Laṅkāvamsa* which

had been introduced later from Ceylon. On the contrary, they seemed to have amalgamated peacefully, and all had adjusted themselves to one another's benefit. This is evident in all religious rites and ceremonies of Thailand. There has been a spirit of forbearance in all matters on the part of the Buddhists. For instance, even today Brahmanic rites thrive side by side with Buddhistic ceremonies in Thailand and Cambodia, especially in the royal courts.

Today, for all purposes, Thailand can be termed a *Theravāda* Buddhist country. There are, of course, a few Mahāyāna monks and monasteries, but they are mostly confined to foreign communities, chiefly the Chinese. All, however, live in peace and co-operation with one another. Out of the entire population of Thailand, ninety-four per cent are today Buddhists, the rest are mostly Muslims and Christians. There are, however, two sects or *Nikāyas* of the Buddhist order in Thailand. One is the *Mahānikāya*, and the other is the *Dhammayuttika Nikāya*. The former is the older and by far the more numerous one. The latter was founded by king Mongkut who ruled Thailand from A.D. 1851-1868. The differences between the two *Nikāyas* are, however, not great ; at most they concern only matters of discipline[1].

Cambodia

The religious history of Kambuja, now called Cambodia, may be divided into two periods. During the first period, which extends from A.D. sixth century to the thirteenth century, Brahmanism and *Mahāyānism* were professed by the court and nobility and the two religions existed in close alliance rather than mutual hostility. It passed without abrupt transition into the second period in which, under Siamese influence, *Hinayānist* Buddhism supplanted the other faiths, although the ceremonies of the Cambojan court still preserve a good deal of Brahmanical ritual.

The inscriptions discovered in Kambuja offer, with a lacuna a fairly continuous history of the country from A.D.

1. Such as in the manner of putting on yellow robes.

sixth century to the thirteenth century. For earlier periods we depend almost entirely on Chinese accounts which are fragmentary and not interested in anything but the occasional relations of China with Funan. During the whole period of the inscriptions the worship of Śiva seems to have been the principal cult and to some extent the state-religion, for even kings who express themselves in their inscriptions as devout Buddhists do not fail to invoke Him. During the whole of the period covered by the inscriptions, Buddhism was not regarded as more distinct from *Śivaism* and *Viṣṇuism* than these from one another.

The earliest record of the existence of Buddhism is a short inscription dating from the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century[1] which relates how a person called Pon Prajñā Candra dedicated male and female slaves to the three Bodhisattvas, *Sasta, Maitreya* and *Avalokiteśvara.* The title given to the Bodhisattvas (*Vrah Kamrataon*) which is also borne by Indian deities shows that this Buddhism was not very different from the Brahmanic cult of Kambuja. It is interesting to find that Yaśovarman who reigned at the end of the ninth century A.D. founded in Anghor Thom a *Sanghāśrama* or Buddhist monastery parallel to his *Brāhmaṇāśrama.* Even in form the inscriptions recording the foundation of the two *Aśramas* show a remarkable parallelism. Both begin with two stanzas addressed to *Śiva* : then the Buddhist inscription inserts a stanza in honour of the Buddha who delivers from transmigration and gives *Nirvāṇa*, and then the two texts are identical for several stanzas. But *Mahāyānist* Buddhism appears to have flourished here especially from the tenth century to the thirteenth century during which its principal devotees were not the kings but their ministers who built monastery, erected statues and carved inscriptions. The identification of Saivism and Buddhism became so complete that we actually find a trinity composed of *Padmodbhava* (*Brahmā*), *Ambhojanetra Viṣṇu*) and the Buddha in the inscriptions of Prasat Prat Khse. A statue of *Prajñā-Pāramitā* was erected by the eminent

1. Aymonier, *Camboja.*

Buddhist minister, Kavindrārimathana, who also erected three towers at Bat Cum with inscriptions among which the first invokes Buddha, Vajrapāni (the Bodhisattva corresponding to the Buddha Akṣohhaya and probably a metamorphosis of Indra) and *Lokeśvara*, and in the others *Lokeśvara* is replaced by *Prajñā Pāramitā* who is treated as a goddess or *Śakti*. The inscription of Srey Santhor (C. 975 A.D.) describes the successful efforts of Kirtipaṇḍita to restore Buddhism. The royal chaplain is by no means to abandon the worship of *Śiva* but he is to be well-versed in Buddhist learning and on feast days he will bathe the statue of the Buddha with due ceremony. A point of interest in this inscription is the statement that Kirtipaṇḍita introduced Buddhist books from abroad, including the *Śāstra Madhyānta Vibhāga* (probably by Vasubandhu) and the commentary on the *Tattva Sangraha*. The authorship of *Madhyānta Śāstra* is worth attention as supporting Tārānāth's statement that the disciples of Vasubandhu introduced Buddhism into Indo-China.

In the time of Jayavarman VII (C. 1185 A.D) *Mahāyāna* Buddhism seems to be frankly professed as the royal religion. It is remarkable that about the same time it becomes more prominent in Jāvā and Campā. An inscription of Jayavarman preserved in the temple of Ta Prohm near Angkor opens with an invocation to the Buddha, in which are mentioned the three bodies, *Lokeśvara* (the common designation of *Avalokita*) and the Mother of the *Jinas*, by whom *Prajñā-Pāramitā* must be meant. Bhikkhus and Brāhmaṇas are mentioned together. The *Uposatha* days seem to be alluded to. The inscriptions of Jayavarman VII found at Say-fong in Laos open with an invocation first to the Buddha, who in his three bodies transcends the distinction between existence and non-existence, and then to the healing Buddha and the two *Bodhisattvas* who drive away darkness and disease.

Later account from Chu Ta-Kuan, a Chinese who visited Angkor in 1296 A.D. presents a vivid description of the beautiful golden temple in the centre of the city, which must be the Bayon, and says that the literati have no schools ; that they wear a white thread round their necks which is their distinc-

tive mark ; that the Buddhist priests shave their heads, wear yellow clothes, worship the image of the Buddha Śākya clad in red, eat only one meal a day prepared by some one who entertains them, eat meat and fish and offer them to Buddha, do not drink wine and recite numerous texts. In every village there was a temple or a *Stūpa*. His account obviously concerns *Hinayāna* Buddhism such as still flourishes in Cambuja. It probably found its way from Siam, with which Cambuja had already close, but not always peaceful, relations. The Brāhmaṇas held high office, but had no schools. It was an age of transition when *Hinayāna* Buddhism countenanced such practices as the sacrifices made to Buddha, about which we learn from Chou Ta-Kuan and the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII. As for the present day, no offerings are made in Cambujan temples, except flowers and sticks of incense. From the time of Chou Ta-Kuan to the present day *Hinayāna* Buddhism became supreme. Brāhmanism, on the other hand, lost strength as the prestige of the court declined and its greatest shrines were in the provinces most exposed to Siamese attacks. The connection with India was not kept up and if any immigrants came from the west after the twelfth century, they are more likely to have been Moslims than Hindus. Though Mohammedanism remained almost unknown to Cambuja, Siam and Burma, the tide of Moslim invasion swept across the Malay Peninsula southwards. Its effect was strongest in Sumātrā and Jāvā, feebler on the coasts of Borneo and the Philippines. From the islands it reached Campā (Viet-Nam) where it had some success, but Siam and Cambuja lay on one side of its mountain-route, and also showed no sympathy for it. King Rāma Thuppedy Chan who reigned in Cambodia from 1642-1659 A.D. became a Mohammedan and surrounded himself with Malayas and Javanese. But he alienated the affections of his subjects and was deposed by the intervention of Annam. After this we hear no more of Mohammedanism. In 1730, a Laotian collected a band of fanatics and proceeded to massacre in the name of Buddha all the Annamites residents in Cambodia. This seems to show that Buddhism was regarded as the religion of the country and could be used as a

national cry against strangers. As already mentioned Brahmanism still survives in the court ceremonials, though this by no means prevents the kings from being a devout Buddhist. The priests are known as *Bakus*, who wear a top-knot and the sacred-thread after the Indian fashion, and enjoy certain privileges.

The ordinary Buddhism of Cambodia at the present day resembles that of Siam and is not mixed with Brāhmanic observances. Monasteries are numerous.

Campā (Viet-Nam)

The south-eastern portion of the territory on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, called Annam, now Viet-Nam, was formerly known as Campā, a name evidently given by its Hindu colonists after the Indian Campā near modern Bhagalpur. Its extent varied at different epochs, but roughly speaking, in modern geography, it may be said to be the southern portion of Annam, comprising the provinces of Quangnam in the north and Cinh-Thwan in the south with the intervening country. The conquerors of the country, who were called Chams, had a certain amount of Indian culture. They arrived here possibly from Jāvā and were invaders from the sea like the Malay pirates. The earliest inscriptions in the Cham language dates from the beginning of the ninth century A.D. But it is preceded by a long series of Sanskrit inscriptions, the oldest of which, that of Vo-Can, is attributed at least to the third century A.D. and refers to an earlier king. It may thus be concluded that the Hindu dynasty of Cham was possibly founded between A.D. 150 and 200. The Chams were exposed to attacks not only from Jāvā, Malāyā, Camboja and Annām but also from the more formidable if distant Chinese till it became for practical purposes an Annamite province.

The inscription of Vo-Can is an address from probably a Buddhist king and written somewhat in the style of Aśoka. It contains indications of Buddhism, but three others believed to date from about 400 A.D. invoke *Śiva* under the title of *Bhadreśvara*. From A.D. 400 onwards, the cult of *Siva* seems to have maintained its paramount position during the whole

history of Campā, for the last recorded Sanskrit inscription is dedicated to Him. The religion of Campā was practically identical with that of Camboja. Its inscription tell us more about *Mukhalingas* and *Koshas*. An inscription of 811 A.D. celebrates the dual deity *Śankara-Nārāyana*. Rama and Kṛṣṇa are both mentioned in an inscription of 1157 A.D. There was a temple of *Gaṇeśa* (Śrī-Vināyaka) at Nhatrang. The Chinese pilgrim I-Ching, writing in the last year of the seventh century A.D., includes Champā (Lin-I) in the list of countries, which "greatly revere the three jewels", and contrasts it with Funan, where a wicked king had recently almost exterminated Buddhism. He says, "In this country Buddhism generally belongs to the *Ārya Sammiti* school, and there are also a few followers of the *Āryasarvāstivādin* school." He also tells us that the *Sarvāstivādins* were the predominant sect in the Malay Archipelago and flourished in Southern China. However, it can hardly be interpreted that Buddhism was the official religion of Campā at any rate after the 400 A.D., for the inscriptions abundantly prove that the Śivaite Shrines of Mison and Po-Nagar were, so to speak, national cathedrals. The intercourse with Camboja and probably with India should have strengthened *Śivaism.*

But the Chinese annals mention that 1350 Buddhist books were carried off during a Chinese invasion in 605 A.D. This allusion implies the existence of Buddhism and monasteries with libraries. An inscription found at Yang Kur in Southern Campā and dated as 829 A.D. records how a *Sthavira* named Buddhanirvāna erected two *Vihāras* and two *Devakulas, i.e.* temples to *Jina* (*i.e.* Buddha) and *Śaṅkara*. Indravarman II (A.D. 860-890) is the only king of Campā who is known to have been a fervent Buddhist. He did not fail to honour Śiva but like Aśoka he was an enthusiast for the Dharma, the knowledge of which he desired to have. He built monasteries for the sake of the Dharma which he wished to propagate. He founded the *Vihāra* of Dong Duong and dedicated it to *Śri Lakṣmindra-Lokeśvara*, the last word of the compound being a synonym of *Avalokita*. No further epigraphic records of Buddhism are known until the reigns of Jaya Indravarmadeva

(A.D. 1167-91) and his successor Sūryavarmadeva. Both of these monarchs, while worshipping *Śiva*, are described as knowing or practising the *Jñāna* or *Dharma* of the Mahāyāna. This implies that the Mahāyāna was respected and considered as a part of the royal religion. Sūryavarmadeva erected a building called *Śrīherukaharmy*, probably after the *Tāntric Buddha Heruka*. The grotto of Phong-nha in the extreme north of Campā (province of Quang Binh) must have been a Buddhist shrine. Numerous medallions in clay bearing representations of *Buddhas*, *Bodhisattvas*, and *Dagobas* have been found there. It is thus evident that all the gods and ceremonies known in Camboja were also known in Campā and vice versa. In both countries the national religion was Hinduism, mainly of the *Śivaite* type, accompanied by *Mahāyānist* Buddhism which occasionally came to the front under the royal patronage. Brāhmaṇas, *Purohitas*, *Paṇḍits* and ascetics are frequently mentioned as worthy of honour and gifts.

But it appears that the *Hīnayānist* influence, which became predominant in Camboja came from Siam. Before it had time to traverse Camboja, Campā, was already in the grip of the Annamites, whose religion and civilization had come from China. After the decay of Campā. Camboja marks the permanent limit within which an Indian alphabet and a form of Buddhism not derived through China have maintained themselves. A large number of Chams were converted to Mohammedanism but the time and circumstances of the event are unknown. The Javanese records state that in the fifteenth century the sister of the princess Darawati of Campā married Raden Radmat, a prominent Moslim teacher in Jāvā. A form of Hinduism seems to have been still prevalent when Friar Gabriel visited the country at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. It is likely that the Moslims arrived in Campā by the route followed centuries before by the Hindu invaders. There are still about 130,000 Chamas in the south of Annam and Camboja. In the latter country they are all Mohammedans. In Annam some traces of Hinduism remain, such as *Mantras* in broken Sanskrit and hereditary priests called Basaih. Both religions have become unusually corrupt.

Fu-nan

In the west of Campā, there was a province which the Chinese called Fu-nan. Some Indians are reported to have arrived here from Jāvā in the first century A.D. Kauṇḍinya is said to be the first founder-king of this province. This king married Soma after whose name the kings of Fu-nan were called of the Soma dynasty. Sometime between A.D. 220 and 280 a king of Fu-nan sent an embassy to India where Buddhism predominated. In 484 A.D. king Jayavarman Kauṇḍinya of Fu-nan sent the Indian *Śākya* monk Nāgasena to the Chinese Court praising the king for the prosperity of Buddhism in China under his patronage and in 503 A.D. he sent there another embassy.

The royal dynasty of Fu-nan was Śivait but Buddhism was not less influential. Siam (modern Thailand) was also included in the Fu-nan of that time. The Malay Peninsula in the south of Fu-nan was mainly a Buddhist country. The inscriptions of A.D. fourth, eighth and ninth centuries are suggestive of the fact that there were several Buddhist monasteries at Ligor and other provinces at the coast. One of these inscriptions describes three monasteries built by the king of Śrīvijaya in 775 A.D. in honour of *Avalokiteśvara*, Buddha and *Vajrapāṇi*. Malay was also included in Fu-nan at the prime of the latter's prosperity. During the reign of Jayavarman (beginning of the fifth century A.D.) Fu-nan sent two Buddhist monks named Sanghapala and Maudrasena who translated the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. The king's son Rudravarman sent an embassy to the Chinese King in 537 A.D. Thereafter his kingdom was never peaceful till the *Samanta* of Fu-nan, the Khmer king ruined it.

Section IV

BUDDHISM IN INDONESIA : MALAY, SUMĀTRĀ, JĀVĀ, BĀLĪ, BORNEO, CELEBES AND PHILIPPINES

Indonesia comprised Malay, Sumātrā, Jāvā, Bālī, Borneo, Philippines and Celebes islands. The Indian traders appear

to be acquainted with the Indonesian archipelago even before our era. The *Mañjuśri Mūlakalpa*, mentions Sumātrā as *Varuṣka* and Jāvā as *Yavadvīpa*. Suvarṇabhūmi was the name attributed to Southern Burmā up to Malay, both of which are now separated. The Malay people had contact with Sumātrā, Jāvā, Borneo, Bālī and other islands, the different parts of which were named as Suvarṇabhūmi, Suvarṇadvīpa, Yavadīpa, etcetera in ancient times. Now-a-days this archipelago is called Indonesia.

We have already discussed the visit of Sona and Uttara to Savarṇabhumi in course of Aśoka's propagation of Buddhism. Near Kedah in Malay, the ruins of a Buddhist monastery with a Sanskrit inscription of the fourth or fifth century .AD. have been found. Some of the inscriptions in Indian script and Sanskrit language of the fourth or fifth century A.D. found in the different parts of Malay are obviously connected with Buddhism. Nakhon Dhammarata (Ligor) was mainly a Buddhist colony. A bit to the north there was the colony of Chaiya where formerly Brahmaṇism and later on Buddhism was in primacy. Praon Maha Podisat, considered as the illegitimate child of king Prītadurya, was despised by his Hindu brethren. He had to run away to Siam. He was converted to Islam by Sheikh Abdullah, an Arab Moslim preacher who had settled in the capital city of Laṅkāsukra in 1474 A.D. He changed his name to Sultana Muljuful Sah. This paved the way for Islam in Malay. The Dutch, the Portuguese and the English arrived here between the last half of sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. The last were offered Pinang of their choice by the Sultan of Kedah with a view to gaining their favour against Siam and this resulted in the loss of the country's independence.

All the Sultans of Malay claim their descent from Parmeśvara, the founder of Mallacca. He belonged to the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijay in Sumātrā. His love for Buddhism is represented in the wonderful monumental structure of Borobudur in Jāvā.

Sumātrā is the next biggest Indonesian island after Borneo. Śrīvijaya was the oldest political centre of this island

and it was ruled over by the Buddhist king named Jayanāga in 684 A.D. It was the centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Chinese monks, like I-Tsing (688 A.D.) and others while going to India, stayed here to study Sanskrit. Dharmapāla, a famous professor of Nālandā University, visited Suvarṇadvīpa, which was a general designation of Indonesia in the seventh century A.D. Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (11th century A.D.), who became the head of Vikramaśilā University, went in his early life to Suvarṇadvīpa in order to study Buddhism under the guidance of its high priest, Candrakīrti. *Vajrayāna* form of Buddhism was them predominant in Northern India. We have a fairly detailed account of some later kings of Sumātrā who were followers of the debased Tāntric cults of Buddhism. In an inscription of 1347 A.D. it is stated that Ācārya Dharmaśekhara established a statue of Avalokiteśvara called Amoghapāśa. King Udayavarman is stated to have been well-versed in the principles of Buddhism and he had mastered their mystic secrets. But prior to this, Sumātrā was attacked by Islam.

Jāvā, though many times smaller than Sumātrā, has its most significant place in history. It is an ancient colony of India. It is most probably the *Yāvadvīpa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of not later than the first or second century A.D. The Chinese annals of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502-556) refer to the name of Lang-ya-hsiu, a country which professed Buddhism. This country has been located by some in Jāvā and by others in the Malay Peninsula. But Fa-Hien relates how in 418 A.D. he returned to China from India via Ya-va-di, a country where heretics and Brāhmaṇas flourished but the law of Buddha hardly deserved mention. But Indian forms of Mahāyānism indubitably flourished there in later centuries. The Kalasan inscription dated 778 A.D. engraved in Nāgarī characters records the erection of Mahāyānist monastery. The Chinese work *Kao Seng Chuan* (519 A.D.) relates that Guṇavarman, the son of the king of Kamīra, became a monk and went first to Ceylon and then to the kingdom of Sche-Po (most probably Jāvā), which he converted to Buddhism. Thus we see that Buddhism obtained a stronghold on the island in less than a quarter of a century after Fa-hien's visit.

Indonesia was a great centre of Buddhism from the seventh century A.D. to the eleventh. A strong impetus to the Mahāyāna was given by the Śailendra dynasty who ruled over the Malay Peninsula and the large part of Indonesia including Jāvā. The Śailendra kings were great patrons of this form of Buddhism and erected monumental structures like Borobudur, Kālsan, Candisari, Candisebu and Mendut in Jāvā. It appears from the epigraphic records that one of the Śailendra kings had a *Guru* (preceptor) from the Gauda country (Bengal). The Śailendra kings established monasteries at Nālandā[1] and Nāgapaṭṭinam and the Pāla and the Cola emperors granted villages for their maintenance. Under the influence of Śailendras, Mahāyānism flourished in Jāvā and Sumātrā for a long period. Some later kings of both the countries were followers of the *Tāntric* Buddhism. The important texts, viz. the *Sang hyang Kamahayanan Mantrayan* and the *Sang hyang Kamahayanikan* give us a fair insight into the leading conceptions of Mahāyānism in Jāvā. Rājasa of Siṁhasāri dynasty was worshipped in the form of Śiva and Buddha in the thirteenth century A.D. King Kṛtanagara of this dynasty had very firm faith in the *Tāntric* cult. He was a great devotee of the five *Makaras*[2]. He sent a very beautiful statue of *Amoghapāśa* (*Avalokiteśvara*) from Jāvā to Sumātrā at the end of the thirteenth century A.D., while Sumātrā had already become famous for Vajrayāna since the eighth century A.D. In 1309 A.D. Kṛtarāja was a devotee of both Śiva and Buddha like his ancestor kings. His daughter Rājapatri became a Buddhist nun in the fourteenth century. But Pali Buddhism does not seem to have entered into Jāvā. The country was at last solely captured by Islam in fifteen century A.D. when the kingdom of Madjpahita was seized by the Mohammedans. At present nearly all the inhabitants of Jāvā profess Islam.

1. Copper plate found from excavation of Nālandā in 1921 is a testimony for this.
2. *Madya* (wine), *Maṃsa* (flesh), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudrā* (wealth) and *Maithuna* (sexual intercourse).

Besides Sumātrā and Jāvā, we have positive evidence of the introduction of Buddhism in the other islands of Malayasia, particularly Bālī and Borneo. The Brahmanical religion, however, dominated and Buddhism gradually disappeared in these regions.

As in Jāvā there is no line of demarcation between *Saivism* and Buddhism, so also in Bālī it is very difficult to draw such a line. In Jāvā Indian religion practically disappeared soon after the fifteenth century, whereas it is intact in Bālī even today in spite of the centuries of attacks by Islam over this island. According to the Chinese Annals of the Liang dynasty the king of this country belonged to the Kauṇḍinya dynasty and Suddhodana's wife, as claimed by that dynasty, was a maiden from their land. This shows that the people of that country were then Buddhists. I-Ching (in the later half of the seventh century A.D.) in his writing suggests that the *Mulasarvastivāda Nikāya* of Buddhism prevailed in that island. When the Javanese could be able to resist against Islam during their ruler Madjpahita, the staunch ones among them, who wanted to stick to their ancient tradition, went away to Bālī for a refuge where their ancient culture could survive and flourish.

Raffle writes that the inhabitants of Bālī are divided into four castes of Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras : the former one is still sub-divided into *Śivait* and Buddha Brāhmins : the *Śivait* Brahmins are highly respected. These accounts are interesting in view of the traditional Hindu culture still living in Bālī. The same record mentions the fact that the Bālī religion is of two kinds : religion of the Buddha and that of the Brahmā. The former among them, though, said to have come earlier to the island, is quite in minority, while the majority consists of the *Śivait*. Buddhism is divided into Sakalan and Niṣkalan. The latter one called Padenda, *i.e.* *Paṇdita* does not abide by the rites and rituals. Buddha is regarded as the younger brother of Śiva in that island. In every rite three *Śivait* and one Buddhist priests are requisitioned. The latter one sits facing the south and the former three facing the remaining directions. The water fetched by the

Śivait priest on the occasion of the king's funeral ceremony, is mixed with that of the Buddhist one. Bālī rivers are named as our Ganges, Sindhu, Yamunā, Kāverī, Saryug, Narmāda, etcetera.

The oldest inscriptions of Borneo found in 1879 A.D. from Maura prove to be of the fourth century A.D. They suggest that Brahmanism was established in the island by that time. As regards Buddhism, it may be noted that among the seven inscriptions found engraved on the stone images discovered at the bank of the river Kayusa in the West Borneo, the three consist of the famous Buddhist couplet—"*Ye-dhammā hetuppabhavā*". One Chinese, Chan-Ju-Kava in the thirteenth century, states that the people of Pu-Ni, i.e. Borneo worship the Buddha statues. This is further supported by Ban-Ta-Yu-An in 1349 A.D. An image of *Mañjuśrī* has been found from the excavation between Gunan-Kupan and Karan-Intan in South-east Borneo. A very beautiful metallic image of the Buddha has been found from Kota-Began in Maura which was preserved in the Paris Museum till 1931. This suggests that Buddhism was prevalent in Borneo along with Brahmanism for centuries together till Islam attacked the cultural colonies.

Islam reached Celebes and the southern Philippines, in both of which Indian influence was slight. Eliot states in his book entitled *Hinduism and Buddhism* that he has not been able to find anything more than casual and second-hand statements to the effect that Indian antiquities have been found in these islands. But in 1820 A.D., a copper Śiva-image, has been found from Sibu in Philippines. So also a beautiful bronze image, of which the right hand and shoulder are exposed and which resembled a similar Buddha-image of Don-Duwan, i.e. Annam, was found at the bank of the river Karma in Celebes. This shows that Buddhism reached up to Celebes in Indonesia.

We would now like to discuss how Buddhism was introduced in the north, i.e. Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mangolia and Nepal. The old route running to control Asia and China passed through Kapiśa which is the present Kohdaman basin near Kabul. Afghanistan, which was called

Gāndhāra (present Kandhar) at the time of the Buddha, was the centre of Buddhist religion and culture from the second century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. The Gāndhāran monks played undoubtedly the most prominent role in the propagation of Buddhism in Central Asia and China. So let us begin with Afghanistan.

13

Expansion of Buddhism to the North

Section I

BUDDHISM IN AFGHANISTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

Regarding Afghanistan, it may be noted that it was geographically and culturally a part and parcel of India since the pre-historic age. At the time of the Buddha it was the portion of Daryovahu's kingdom and was then called Gāndhāra. Even today Kāndahāra is a town of Afghanistan. Peshawar, formerly called Puruṣpur, was the chief city of Gandhāra. Takṣasilā (Rawalpindi district) was the capital of Eastern Gāndhāra. Thus Gāndhāra was once spread between Rawalpindi and Hindukuśa. During the time of the Buddha Takṣaśilā was the centre of learning and commerce and it had close relations with Northern India. The eighty-four thousand *Stūpas* built under Aśoka's direction in his kingdom included one Dharmarajika *Stūpa* of Takṣaśilā. The religious mission despatched for the propagation of Buddhism in Kāśmīr and Gāndhāra during Aśoka's time was led by Madhyāntika. After the Maurya dynasty Kāshmīr and Gāndhār gradually became the centres of Buddhism and the latter played the most important role in the promulgation of Indian culture among the Greeks and the Śakas. Formerly it lay on the border of the Iranian and then of the Greek culture which caused it to beget the

hybrid culture as a result of the mixture of different cultures. Gāndhāra gave birth to the art of Indo-Greek statutary and to the unparalleled philosophers like Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Afghanistan, according to the testimony of the Chinese travellers had always been a flourishing centre of Buddhism. Subsequent discoveries by French archaeologists specially in the Bamiyan valley corroborate their statement. Caves carved with colossal images of the Buddha and miss written in the Kushān and the Gupta scripts have been found here.

Afghanistan, which considers *Butparasti*, i.e. worship of the Buddha image (now used in the sense of idol-worshipper) to be the greatest curse, was once entirely *Butparasta*, i.e. Buddha worshipper and that was the most glorious period of its art, culture and literature. The *Baddhus* of Arab had not the culture to understand the greatness of art in *Butaparasti* and hence they could not find more than erroneous views in the worship of images made of clay, stone and metal.

Recent explorations in Chinese Turkestan have revealed the existence of a large number of flourishing cities and have introduced us to a new world of Indian culture. Central Asia comprising Chinese Turkestan stood on the intermediary stage between India and China and actually three routes passed through Central Asia. The Tarim basin, geographically a very inhospitable region attained great importance from the cultural point of view. Diverse streams of culture met here, such as India, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Tibetan, etc. were mingled in a single stream. Buddhism was the prevailing religion in the Central Asian regions, Khotan being the most important centre of the same. The importance of Tarim basin lies not only for Buddhism in Central Asia, but also for the fact that it played a very important role for the propagation of the faith in China and that it influenced Buddhism in Tibet as well. Khotan, Yarkand, Kucha, Kashgar, Karasahara, Turfan, etcetera are places where there were numerous Buddhist *Vihāras* and where thousandes of monks remained engaged in religious discussions. Besides modern *Mahāyānist* literature, which has been found in abundance there, greater importance is attached to portions of an otherwise lost Sanskrit canon

which agree in substance to the corresponding passages in the Pali canon and are apparently the original text from which much of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* was translated. The manuscripts published include *Sūtras* from the *Samyukta* and *Ekottara Āgames*, a considerable part of the *Dharmapada*, and the *Prātimokṣa* of the *Sarvāstivādin* school. Near Khoṣṭhi, a *Prākrit* text of the *Dharmapada* written in Kharoṣṭhī characters has been discovered. *Suvarṅaprabhāsa*, *Vajracchedikā* and *Aparimitāyus* Māhāyana Sūtras have been found translated into Nordarisch, i.e. the language of the Śakas or Kushans. So also we have the *Dharmapada* and the *Vinaya* in Tokharian, i.e. the language of Kucha. The Sogdian language also offers Buddhist texts. Turkish dialect resembling Sogdian and written in Uigur alphabet was extensively used for Buddhist literature in both the east and west of the Tarim basin. The documents discovered from Turfan comprise numerous Buddhist translations.

The religious monuments of Central Asia comprise *Stūpas* and covered buildings used as Buddhist temples or *Vihāras* Hinduism is not known to have existed here apart from Buddhism. Caves decorated for Buddhist worship are found not only in the Tarim basin but also at Tun-huang on the frontiers of China proper, near-Ta-tung-fu in Northern Shenshi, and in the defile of Lung-men in the province of Ho-nan. The influence of Gāndhāra is plain in architecture, sculpture and painting. It doubtless represents Indian Buddhist art as modified by local painters and sculptors, which is evident in the Turfan frescoes. Persian influence also is manifested in many paintings. A striking instance may be seen in two plates published by Stein apparenty representing the same Bodhisattva. He mentions that he discovered a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Helmund in the Persian province of Seistan, containing paintings of a Hellenistic type which show "for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which connects the Greeco-Buddhist art of extreme North-West India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East."

The Chinese annals incidentally supply valuable information about the relations of Central Asia with China in early periods. These relations were often interrupted. The political records also do not always furnish the data which are of most importance for the history of Buddhism. The reign of the Emperor Ming-Ti is the traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism when the famous general and adventurer Pan Chao conquered Khotan and Kashgar. But early in the second century the Yueh-Chih placed on the throne of Kashgar a prince who was their tool. The introduction of Buddhism in Kashgar is ascribed to this epoch. If Kaniṣka was then reigning, the statement that he conquered Kashgar and Khotan is probably correct. It is supported by Yuan Chwang as also by Kaniṣka's coins found in the Khotan districts. Thus it may be assumed that Buddhism was prevalent in both the places during Kaniṣka.

A Kharoṣṭhī inscription refers to the Khotanese king Vijita-Siṃha. Archaeological evidence corroborates the tradition that Khotan was colonised by Indians and ruled by Indian chiefs. This tradition preserved in the Tibetan books, has been examined by Sten Konow, and according to it the royal dynasty of Khotan was founded by Kustana, the son of Aśoka. His son Ye-u-la is most probably indentified with the king Yu-lin mentioned in Chinese chronicles as ruling over Khotan about the middle of the first century A.D. Ye-u-la was succeeded by his son Vijita-Sambhava with whom begins a long series of Khotan kings whose names all begin with Vijita. Buddhism was introduced into Khotan in the fifth year of Vijita-Sambhava. To this dynasty belonged Vijita-dharma who became a Buddhist.

Other Buddhist traditions connect the colonisation of Khotan, with Kunāla son of Aśoka and viceroy of Taxila, who left his mother country due to the conspiracy of stepmother and settled in Khotan.

The Chinese annals and Tibetan sources state that one monastery was built here by king Vijayavirya in honour of his preceptor Buddhadutta, an Indian monk wo got another monastery constructed on the mountain Gośṛnga. The king called for Saṃghaghoṣa. He appointed him as his teacher and

got numerous monasteries built. The king's eldest son, named Don-Adro, brought Reverend Samantasiddha from India. The latter introduced *Sarvāstivāda* school of Buddhism in Li-UL (Tarim Basin). King Vijayadharma's son Vijayasiṁha was converted into Buddhism and thereafter named as Anandasena. Anandasena's son-in-law A-Lyoaja helped the cause of propagation of Buddhism in Kashgar. He built a monastery there. It appears that Khotan was attached several times by the anemies including one A-No-Sar, the king of Druggu (Western Turks), who demolished all the monasteries lying up to Ge-u-Sen. Khotan regained its power during the reign of Vijayasaṅgrāma, after whom it was during the reign of Vijayasiṁha that Arhat Dharmapāla arrived in Khotan. Thereafter Khotan came under the sway of China. But Central Asia is known to have been conquered by Tibet at the end of the ninth century. Chinese annals are, however, silent about Khotan for the next one and half centuries till we learn about the exchange of embassies between Khotan and China. Between A.D. 970 and 1009 Khotan was conquered by Islam which extinguished Buddhism from there.

In the kingdom of Khotan Fa-Hien (400 A D.) found some tens of thousands of monks mostly followers of the Mahāyāna and each house had a small *Stūpa* before the door. He stopped in a well-ordered convent with three thousand monks. He states that the great car (*Ratha*) festival was held every year in honour of the Buddha during spring and continued for two weeks in Indian colour of Khotanese religion.

Two and a half centuries after Fa-Hien Yuan Chwang also visited the country and lodged in a monastery of the Sarvāstivādins for eight months. Then again, while returning from India he broke his return journey at Khotan in A.D. 644. He says that there lived five thousand monks in one hundred monasteries and *Mahāyāna* was the prevalent sect. He describes several sites in the neighbourhood, particularly the Gosṛṅga mountain which has been identified by Stein with Kohmari Hill and is still revered by Mohammedans as a sacred spot. That Khotan had been Buddhist since long, is testified by the Chinese Buddhist Mau-Chen, who had witnessed the

monks in a very large number in the second century. Some rare Buddhist books including *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* transcribed in Chinese have been found in Khotan. It became the place of the dissemination of Buddhism to other states in the South, such as Niya, Calmadana (Cherchem) Krovaina (Loulan) and also to Cokkuka (Kashgar).

We have already discussed the introduction of Buddhism into Kashgar and as regards further details it may be noted that little is heard until Fa-Hien visited it in 400 A.D. He speaks of the quinquennial religious conferences of relics of the Buddha and of a monastery containing a thousand monk students of *Hinayāna*. About 460 A.D. the king sent as a present to the Chinese Court an incombustible robe once worn by the Buddha.

Yuan Chwang has left an interesting account of Kashgar as he found it on his return journey from India in 644 A.D. The inhabitants were sincere Buddhists and there were more than a thousand monks of the *Sarvāstivādin* school. But their knowledge was not in proportion to their zeal for they read the scriptures diligently without understanding them.

According to Yuan Chwang's religious conspectus of these regions, Kashgar, Osh and Kucha belonged to the *Hinayāna* and Yarkand and Khotan mainly to the *Mahāyāna*. The *Hinayāna* also flourished at Balkh and at Bamian. In Kapisa the *Mahāyāna* was predominant but there were also many Hindu sects : in the Kabul valley too Hinduism and Buddhism seem to have been mixed : in Persia there were several hundred *Sarvāstivādin* monks. In Tokhara (Badakshan) there were some traces of Buddhism, but apparently it did not flourish in the regions of Tashkent and Samarkand. In the latter town there were two disused monasteries, but when Yuan Chwang's companions entered them they were mobbed by the populace.

The pilgrim Wu-Kung spent five months in Kashgar about 786 A.D., but there appears to be no later data of interest for the study of Buddhism.

There were four important states in the northern part of Chinese Turkestan, viz., Bharuka (Aksu), Kucha, Agnidesa

(Kara-Shahr) and Kao-Chang (Turfan). Kucha was the most powerful among the four states and played a preponderant role in the spread of Buddhism to other northern states as well as to China. The Chinese translation of the *Aśokāvadāna* states that Emperor Aśoka wanted to put his son Kunāla in charge of a portion of his kingdom known as Kucha.

Some scholars hold that the word "Kushan" has come from Kusha, i.e. Kucha. Alberuni, on the basis of *Matsya-purāṇa*, mentions the Kusha island lying in the neighbourhood of Śaka island. In the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* and also in the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāraja Kanika*, Kaniṣka has been mentioned as the king of the Kush. Thus Kucha appears to be the original land of the Śaka. It is not until the emergence of the western Tsin dynasty that we find it described as a seat of Buddhism. The Tsin annals say that it contained a thousand *Stūpas* and Buddhist temples in the third century. This implies that Buddhism had been established for some time; but no evidence has been found to date its introduction. We may, however, assume on the basis of the remarks made above that Kucha also must have received Buddhism in the first century A.D. In 383 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Fu-Chien of the Tsin dynasty, Kumārajīva, the distinguished translator and one of the greatest names in the Chinese Buddhism, was brought to China from Kucha as a captive of General Lu-Kuang. Kumārajīva's father had come from India and Kumārajīva himself went as a youth to study in Kipin (Kashmir) and then returned to Kucha after which he was converted to *Mahāyānism*. In Central Asia he was recognized as an encyclopaedia of Indian learning. Thus we see how China was brought into intellectual touch with India and how the *Mahāyāna* was gaining ground in Central Asian territory previously occupied by the *Hinayāna*. Monk Dharmagupta who passed through Kucha about 584 A.D. says that the king favoured *Mahāyānism*. Yuan Chwang visited Kucha in 630 A.D. He states that during that period there were more than one hundred monasteries with five thousand *Sarvāstivādin* monks who studied their scriptures in Indian language. The pilgrim did not join them in eating meat, but

found them observing the *Prātimokṣa* rules very strictly. He dwells with pleasure on the quinquennial assemblies, which continued for ten days, and on the most artistic Buddha images ninety feet high. One *Sarvāstivādī* monk known as Mokṣa Gupta, who had studied in India for twenty years, is stated to have lived in Kucha during that period. During the next century Kucha sent several missions to the Chinese. In 788 A.D. it was visited by the Chinese monk named Wu-Kung in his return journey from India. Music and Buddhism is said to have been still flourishing there. The history of Kucha is a dark from this date (ninth century A.D.) and Islam overpowers the Buddhist Indian culture in Kucha. In the eleventh century, however, we hear of missions to the Chinese Court. The annals mention them under the heading Uigurs, but Buddhism does not seem to have been extinct, for even in 1096 A.D. the envoy presented to the emperor a jade Buddha. According to Yuan Chwang's account the Buddhist monasteries of Karashahr (Yenki) enjoyed the same reputation for strictness and learning as that of Kucha. That *Sarvāstivāda* predominated in Kucha and Eastern Turkestan, is revealed in its literature.

Turfan, which is an oasis, had some connection with two ephemeral states which arose in Kansu under the name of Hon-Liang and Pei Liang. King Meng-Hsun of the Chu-Chu tribe of Hon-Liang was devoted in his later years to literature and Buddhism. In 489 A.D. a temple to Maitreya with a long inscription in Chinese was dedicated in honour of Chow (Wei dynasty), the king of Turfan. Tibetan documents which have been found there testify the influence of Manichaeism and Nestorianism in Turfan in the eighth and ninth centuries. Perhaps the massacres of Buddhist priests, clearly indicated by vaults filled with skeletons still wearing fragments of the monastic robe, occurred in this period. But Buddhism was not extinguished and lingered here longer than in other parts of the Tarim Basin. even in 1420 A.D. the people of Turfan were Buddhists and the Ming annals say that at Huo-Chou (or Kara Khojo) there were more Buddhist temples than dwelling houses.

Regarding Uigurs and Turks it may be noted that the

oldest literature of the Turkish language is available in the form of Uigur literature in which the translation of Buddhist works has so important a place that it helped the new Turkish while introducing the definitions of its own language in place of Arabic. Buddhism had reached among the Mangols during the last period of the Huns. Buddhism had a great influence over all the branches of the Turkish. It is not easy to determine the date when the Uigurs became Buddhists. But, since their rival brothers were Buddhists and the Buddhist preachers had begun to propagate the faith among all the Hun tribes during the first century B.C., it may be assumed that most of the portions of Uigurs were Buddhists since they stepped into History. Though *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* was in vogue among Uigurs as it was among Tukhars (i.e. Kucha), it does not mean that they were *Hīnayānists* rather than *Mahāyānists*. We find the Uigurs to be Buddhists in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the period of Chingis Khan, among the Government servants, mostly Uigurs, a large number consisted of the Buddhist monks who were afterwards converted to Islam. As regards China, it must be remembered that though China was well acquainted with Buddhism in the middle of the fourth century A.D., Buddhist art was introduced there during the fifth century when We-i, the ancestor of the Turks who were ruling over China, had accepted Buddhism and played a very important role in the development of Buddhist literature and art.

Even the western portion of Central Asia was not less important in the history of Buddhism. Its important city Bukhara was so named after the great Buddhist monastery which existed before Islam reached here. The Mongols, Turks and other tribes who visited the place earlier still pronounce '*Vihāra*' as 'Bukhāra'. Several Buddhist images and statues representing *Gāndhārān art* (5th century A.D.) have been found from the excavation near Termija. Yuan Chwang visited the land of Tokhara shortly before the victory of the Arabs and the disappearance of Buddhism from there. He found the Buddhist monasteries scattered all over the land of Tokhara.

In Bamian, i.e. Tokhara Buddhism was not so much affected by Islam till 727 A.D. when the Korian monk came over Central Asia. Sindh was then in the hands of the Arabs. Some one hundred years ago the Zoroastrian religion, which included some Buddhists also, predominated in Fargana and the Zarfashan Basin at the time of Yuan Chwang. Both eastern and western portions of Central Asia may be called Turkestan in the eighth century, but the word 'Turka' was not then the synonym of Islam. Western Turkestan was also entirely converted to Islam during the reign of King Nasra (913-943 A.D.) of Samani dynasty. Thereafter Islam quickly marched towards Tarim and Chu basins. About 1000 A.D. Khotan, Kashgar, etc. accepted Islam.

Though there are ample materials for the study of Buddhism in Central Asia, those hitherto published throw little light on the time and manner of its introduction and hence at present much is hypothetical. The account of the career of Kumāra Jīva and the inscription on the temple of Maitreya at Turfan are only such evidences, but there is, however, a great mass of literary and artistic evidence from which various deductions can be drawn. It is clear that there was constant intercourse between the Indian and the Oxus regions. The use of Prakrit and of various Iranian idioms points to actual colonization from these two quarters and it is probable that there were two streams of Buddhism; for the Chinese pilgrims agree that Shan-Shan (near Lob-Nor), Turfan, Kucha and Kashgar were *Hinayānists*, whereas Yarkand and Khotan were *Mahāyānists*. Further, much of the architecture, sculpture and painting is simply Gāndhārān and the *older* specimens can hardly be separated from the Gāndhārān art of India by any considerable interval. This art was in part coeval with Kaniṣka, and if his reign began in 78 A.D. or later, the first specimen of it cannot be much anterior to the Christian era. The earlier Chinese notices of existence of Buddhism in Kashgar and Kucha date from 400 A.D. (Fa-Hsien) and the third century A.D. (Annals of the Tsin, 265-317) respectively, but they speak of it as the national religion and munificently endowed, so that it may well have been established for some centuries. In Turfan the first definite record is the dedication

of a temple to Maitreya in 469 A.D., but probably the history of religion was much the same as in Kucha. It is only in Khotan that tradition, if not history, gives a more detailed narrative as found in the accounts of Hsuan and Sung Yun, as also in the four Tibetan works which we have already mentioned. But neither the statement of the Chinese annalists about Central Asia nor its own traditions prove that Buddhism flourished there before the Christian era.

It is certain that the Yueh-Chih invaded, founded the Kushan Empire and were intimately connected (especially in the person of their great king Kaniṣka) with Gāndhārān art and the form of Buddhism which finds expression in it. Now, Fa-Hsien found the *Hīnayāna* prevalent in Shan-Shan, Kucha, Kashgar, Osh, Udyāna and Gāndhāra. Hsuan also notes its presence in Balk, Bamian and Persia. Both notice that the *Mahāyāna* was prominent in Khotan though not to the exclusion of the other school. It would appear that north-west frontier province of India, Afghanistan, Badakshana (with small adjoining states), the Pamir regions and the Tarim basin, all accepted Gāndhārān Buddhism and at one time had formed part of the Kushan empire. It is probably to this Gāndhārān Buddhism that the Chinese pilgrims refer when they speak of the *Sarvāstivādin* school of the *Hīnayāna* as prevalent. It is known that this school was closely connected with the council of Kaniṣka. Its metaphysics was decidedly not *Mahāyānist*, but there is no reason why it should have objected to the veneration of such Bodhisattvas as are portrayed in the Gāndhārān sculptures. The *Mahāyāna* Buddhism of Khotan was a separate stream from India through Kashmir, the natural route for passing men and ideas from any part of India to Khotan. Central Asia and China appears to have exchanged their religions. It passed on to China the Gāndhārān Buddhist art and thought of India, perhaps adding some of its own on the way and then received them back from China with further additions as revealed in the Maitreya inscription of Turfan. It certainly received a great deal from Persia which is evident from its numerous manuscripts in different Iranian languages. The Tibetans occupied the Tarim basin during a century and

according to their traditions, monks went from Khotan to instruct Tibet.

We find the *Sūryagarbha* Sūtra praising the mountain of Gośṛṅga which, evidently, is the outcome of the local patriotism. One Turkish Sūtra of Turfan contains a discourse of the Buddha to the Turk merchants Trapusha and Ballika and calls Indra as Kormusta, i.e. Hormuzd. In another, Brahmā is called Asura, who is identified as the Iranian deity Zervan. When the world of spirits and men becomes Central Asian instead of Indian, the doctrine too should naturally take on some local colour. Thus the inscription of 466 A.D. in Turfan is a mixture of Chinese ideas (both Confucian and Taoist) with Indian.

Even more remarkable is the admixture of Buddhism in Manichaeism. Manichaean deities are represented like Bodhisattvas sitting crossed-legged on a lotus. In some ways the association of Taoism and Manichaeism was even closer, for the *Hu-Hua-Ching* identifies Buddha with Lao-Tzu and Mani. Similar is the case with Nestorianism, as is evident from the Nestorian stone-inscription of Si-ngan-fu partly in Chinese and partly in Syriac containing many Buddhist phrases. It is possible that in Western China and Central Asia Buddhism, Taoism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism, all borrowed from one another just as the first two do in China today, and Buddhism may have become modified by this contact.

The importance of Central Asia lies in the fact that it was the earliest and on the whole the principal source of Chinese Buddhism, to which I now propose to turn. Somewhat later, teachers also came to China by sea and still later, under the Yuan dynasty, Lamaism was introduced direct from Tibet. But at least from the beginning of our era onwards, monks went eastwards from Central Asia to preach and translate the scriptures and it was across Central Asia that Chinese pilgrims went to India in search of truth.

Section II

BUDDHISM IN CHINA

Chinese Buddhists claim to have received the faith much earlier than Christian era. It is less improbable that some Buddhists visited India or some Chinese met the Buddhists of this place then, but the traditional date for the introduction of the faith into China is 62 A.D. *We-Lueh*, a book composed in the first half of the third century A.D., states that an ambassador of the Emperor Ali was sent to the Court of Yueh Chih in 2 B.C. He was instructed in Buddhism. The later Han annals also relate that in 65 A.D. the Prince of Chu was a Buddhist and that there were *Śramaṇas* and *Upāsakas* in his territory. The aforementioned book suggests that Lao-Tzu left China in order to teach in India. But this Taoist theory is not likely to commend itself to the modern scholars. Another Taoist legend says that Jan Teng, i.e. Dīpankara Buddha, the teacher of Śākyamuni, was a Taoist whom the Śākyamuni visited in China. Shen Kua, a writer of the eleventh century, states that Buddhism had been flourishing before the Chin dynasty but disappeared with its advent; and also that eighteen priests were imprisoned in 216 B.C. But the story adds that they recited the *Prajñā-pāramitā* which is hardly possible at that epoch. The Sui annals also support the view that Buddhism was introduced into China at an early date but was exterminated by the Emperor Shih Huang Ti (321-206 B.C.). But this view is not supported by any details and leads to the objection that intercourse between China and India via Central Asia before the second century B.C. is not only unproved but improbable. Still the mystical, quietist philosophy of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu has an undoubted resemblance to Indian thought. The doctrine of To-Te-Ching is not specifically Buddhist, yet it contains passages which sound like echoes of the *Piṭakas*. The explanation that Indian ideas reached China sporadically at least at the time of Chuang-Tzu in the fourth century B.C. appears to be natural.

We may, however, accept the date for the introduction of Buddhism into China earlier than 67 A.D. The tradition relates that a monk called Kāśyapa Mātanga from Central India (i.e. modern Uttarapradesha and Bihar) and the other named Chu Fa-Lan, i.e. Dharmāranya of Śānti Bhikṣu (also known as Dharmaratna) from Kashgar in Central Asia or Eastern Turkestan were brought to China with Buddhist scriptures as desired by Emperor Min-To of the Eastern Han dynasty (25 B.C.—221 A.D.). The emperor dreamed that a golden man was flying into his palace. Knowing him to be Fo-To or Buddha, an Indian God, he sent an embassy to the kingdom of the Ta Yueh Chih or India to fetch the Buddhist monks and scriptures. Kashgar was a part of India as regards culture, religion and to a great extent also regarding language. The above mentioned two monks are said to have been stationed in the White Horse Monastery at Loyang, the capital of the dynasty where began that long series of translations which assumed gigantic proportions in the following centuries but closely adhering to the teaching of the Pali Tripiṭaka and showing hardly any traces of the *Mahāyāna*. It is not improbable that Ming-Ti sent an embassy to Central Asia (not India in our sense) to enquire about religion with the political motive of exploiting the religious sentiment of the Central Asians who were in rebellion against China before the campaigns of Pan Chao which had begun about 73 A.D. The negotiations of Chang-Chien with the Yueh Chih (129-119 B.C.) and the documents (98 B.C.) discovered by Stein in the ancient military posts on the Western frontier of Kansu prove that China had communication with Central Asia. But neither the accounts of Chang Chien's journey nor the documents contain any allusion to Buddhism. The annals of the Liang dynasty mention that several envoys from India visited China via Central Asia during the period of Emperor Ho (89-105 A.D.) and then again during Hauang-Ta (147-167 A.D.). We may thus safely conclude that China received Buddhism from the nomadic tribes of Eastern Turkestan between the end of the 1st century B C. and the middle of 1st century A.D. and within a century it was officially recognized as a religion worthy of

toleration. According to the Chinese annals the chief doctrines preached by the first Buddhist missionaries were the sanctity of all animal life, meditation, asceticism and Karma.

It is only during the Han period that we hear of Buddhism properly established in China and of a number of scholars from India, An-Hsi, i.e. Parthia and the Tarim basin region of Central Asia, coming over there, working with the Chinese and translating into Chinese as many as 350 books including the *Prātimokṣa* of the *Dharmagupta* school and the various portions of *Āgamas*, i.e. the Nikāyas of the *Sūtra Piṭaka*. The prominent ones among such translators are the Parthian prince An Shih-Kao, Chih-Lo-Kya-Chang, i.e. Lokakṣema of Yueh-Chih, Chuti-Fuchuh, i.e. the Indian Bodhisattva, An-Hsuen of Parthia, Chi-Yu of Yueh-Chih, Chu-Ta-Li, i.e. the Indian Mahabal, Tan-Kuo of India and Khang-Kiu from Sogdia. A several storeyed *Stūpa* was built at the modern Su-Chau of the North Kyang-Sih. The first Chinese monk was a resident of An-Haui province.

In course of gaining a firm footing in China Buddhism had a hard struggle, on one hand with Confucianism which had its traditional hold on the court and the nobility looking down upon Buddhism as a barbaric religion, and on the other hand with Taoism which was more firmly established there as a native religion. But in comparison to Buddhism the religious character of the former was much less developed and the philosophical background of Taoism was much weaker which put Buddhism in an advantageous position over these indigenous religious systems to attract the Chinese and to create confidence in the minds of the literati, who themselves began to plead the superiority of Buddhism. Towards the end of the Han dynasty (170-225 A.D.) we hear of Mon-Tsue who wrote one such treatise. Besides, the life of purity followed by the Indian Buddhists and their Chinese disciples, as also the patronage of the foreign dynasties like Wei and others in China helped the cause of the new faith.

The Han dynasty was followed by half a century's reign of the three kingdoms (A.D. 221-271) when China was divided between the States of Shu, Wei and Wu with their capitals

respectively at Chen-Tu, Loyang and Nanking which remained the centres of the translation work.

The three kingdoms gave place to the Western Tsin dynasty and we now reach the period when Buddhism begins to become prominent. It is also a period of political confusion, of contest between the north and the south, of struggle between Chinese and Tartars. The Tartars were neither fanatical, nor prejudiced against Chinese ideals in politics and religion. During the fourth century and the first half of the fifth some twenty ephemeral states, governed by Tartar Chieftains and perpetually involved in mutual war, rose and fell in Northern China. The later Chao and both the earlier and later Ts'in are important for the progress of Buddhism. In 381 A.D. Fu-Chien (of former Ts'in dynasty), who had established in it large colonies of Tartars, became a Buddhist. He was in close touch with Central Asia and through them with India. Yao-Hsing, the second monarch of the later Ts'in, who had established themselves in Chang-An, was a devout Buddhist and patron of Kumārajīva, the celebrated translator of Indian works into Chinese. Kumārajīva was a *Sarvāstivādin* for some time and later on became a *Mahāyānist*. He is said to have had three thousand disciples.

Probably all the Tartar kingdoms were well-disposed towards Buddhism. Their unsettled condition, however, made the precarious residences for monks and scholars during the growth of northern Wei, which, afterwards, appears as a prominent home of Buddhism. Meanwhile in the south the eastern Ts'in dynasty, which ruled over Nanking from A.D. 317-420, was also favourable to Buddhism and Hsiao Wu-Ti, the ninth sovereign, was the first Chinese Emperor to become a Buddhist. Nanking had already become the centre of propagation of Buddhism. Among the seventeen translators of this period, one Śrīmitra translated the *Tāntric* books for the first time. The prominent ones among the rest were the Central Asian Kumāra Bodhi, the royal teacher of Turfan, and the Tokharian scholar Dharmanandī. It is during this period that Hsui-Yuwens, the chief disciple of the monk Tao-An, is said to have established the school of *Amitābha* (A.D. 314-385), *Puṇḍarika* or *Sukhāvatī*.

So also the contemplative or *Dhyāna* or Zen school introduced by the Chinese monk Chu-Tao-Seng (A.D. 397-414) who was influenced by Kumārajīva attracted the literati and nobility. Then again the followers of the *Bhaiṣajya Guru* or the physician teacher, i.e. Buddha, like the prominent Chinese Buddhist physician (middle of the fourth century) called Yu-Fa-Khai and others helped the cause. The translator Dharmarkṣa (A.D. 282-313) preached the greatness of *Avalokita* school through his translation of the *Saddharama Puṇḍarīka* into Chinese. The later Chao founded by Shih-Lo showed favour to Fo-Tu-Cheng, the Indian Buddhist monk and diviner who had lived at his court. The most eminent of his successors, Shih Chi-Lung (middle of the fourth century), was an ardent devotee and gave permission to the population to enter monasteries, which had not been granted previously. In the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. Buddhism, in spite of the great rivalry of Taoism, is reported to have possessed the nine-tenths of the inhabitants of North-Western China, as also it extended its way to Korea, which introduced the faith into Japan after one and a half centuries.

The Eastern Ts'in dynasty gave place to the Liu Sung dynasty which had its suzerainty over the south for more than fifty years. The north was divided among the Tartar kingdoms all of which perished before 440 A.D. except Wei. Wei then split into an eastern and a western kingdoms which lasted about a hundred years. In the south, the Liu Sung gave place to three short dynasties : Chi, Liang and Chen, until at last the Sui (A.D. 589-605) united China. The Liu Sung Emperor, Wen Ti (424-454 A.D.), who was a patron of Confucianism, states the Sung annals, received congratulations from India and Ceylon on the flourishing condition of religion in his dominions. This suggests that he did not discourage Buddhism. But, the memorials from the Chinese officials, preserved in the annals, asking for imperial interference to prevent the multiplication of monasteries and the growing expenditure on superstitious ceremonies, marks the beginning of the desire to curb Buddhism by restrictive legislation which the official class displayed so prominently and persistently in subsequent

centuries. In 446 A.D. Toba Tag, the sovereign of Wei being instigated by a Taoist, issued an edict ordering the destruction of Buddhist temples and sacred books, as well as the execution of all priests. But the first act of his successor was to re-establish Buddhism and allow his subjects to become monks. In 471 A.D. another ruler of Wei, Toba Hung, had a gigantic image of the Buddha constructed, and subsequently he abdicated in order to devote himself to Buddhist studies. His successor was an ardent Confucianist. But, Buddhism again secured the favour of the next emperor in whose time there are said to have been 13,000 temples in Wei.

Similarly in Sung dominions a monk was implicated in a conspiracy and restrictive regulations were issued regarding monasteries in 458 A.D. But then the Emperor Ming-Ti was a devout Buddhist and erected a monastery in Hunan at the cost of such heavy taxation that his ministers remonstrated. The 59 years of Liu Sung rule must have been on the whole favourable to Buddhism, for twenty translators partly natives and partly from Central Asia, India and Ceylon flourished. In 420 A.D. a band of twenty-five Chinese started of a pilgrimage to India. They had been preceded by the celebrated pilgrim Fa-Hsien.

By this time most of the scriptures were made available in Chinese translations, but *Vinaya Piṭaka* could not catch the attention of the translators as yet. Fa-Hsien had a mind to fulfil the tasks for which he went to India to collect the *Vinaya* texts. He was the first Chinese monk to visit India. In 399 a band of Chinese young men led by him set out for India, the original home of their culture and religion, and returned back after a period of fifteen years. Fa-Hsien was born in the province of modern Shanshi. His parents took him to a monastery where he was made a *Śrāmaṇera* and afterwards a monk. He visited Turfan and Khotan on his way to India. He was highly impressed to witness the restraint and discipline maintained by the monks of Khotan, which had been Buddhist country for the last four centuries. After fifty-four days' walk the adventurous traveller arrived at Kashmir and then at the Punjab. He visited the holy places of India, studied the *Vinaya*

texts of different *Nikāyas* (i.e. texts) and noted down the rules thereof. Then for some time he studied in Bengal. He got the ship for Ceylon at Tamralipti. From Ceylon Fa-Hsien received the *Mahiśāsaka Vinaya* texts and the Sanskrit version of the *Dirghāgama*, the *Samyuktāgama* and the *Samyukta-Sancaya Piṭaka.* He stayed in Java for five months and therefrom returned to China. The rest portion of his life was spent at the monasteries of Southern China in preaching the *Vinaya.* He translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras.* But Fa-Hsien became immortal more because of his travelling accounts.

In the reign of Wu-Ti, the first emperor of the Chi dynasty, one of the imperial princes, named Tzu Liang, cultivated the society of eminent monks and enjoyed theological discussions. The arguments of the inequalities of life as the result of Karma had a great attraction for the popular mind. But it provoked the hostile criticism of the Confucian literati.

The succession of the Liang dynasty's first Emperor Wu-Ti (A.D. 502-549) rivalled Asoka in pious enthusiasm. He obviously set the church above the state and it was while he was on the throne that Bodhidharma came to China and the first edition of the *Tripitaka* was prepared. Though not included in the list of translators Bodhidharma occupies a very significant position in the history of Buddhism in China and Japan in view of the fact that he founded the *Dhyāna*, Chinese Chan, Japanese Zen school. He taught the essentiality of insight, which comes as illumination after meditation. The artist, thinker and cultured nobility had profound regard for this faith. According to a contemporary Chinese writing he was born in China, but the tradition mentions him to be the son of a king of South India. He is said to have met the devout Buddhist king Wu in Nanking. Bodhidharma could not be satisfied with Wu-Ti. Hence he left the south for the north and for nine months he remained gazing at the wall in the monastery of Shao-Lin in Loyang. One legend says that he sat so long in contemplation that his legs fell off. His teachings have largely influenced many of the beautiful paintings of the artists of China and Japan,

Wu-Ti, originally a patron of Confucianism, was converted to Buddhism. In Wei a period of Confucianism was succeeded by a strong wave of Buddhism which evidently swept over all China. In 518 A.D. Hu, the Dowager empress of Wei, sent Sung Yun and Hui Sheng to Udyāna in search of Buddhist books which they brought back 175. Wu-Ti's conversion is connected with a wandering monk and magician called Pao-Chiti. A monastery was erected in Nanking at great expense and edicts were issued forbidding not only the sacrifice of animals but even the representation of living things in embroidery. The emperor expounded *Sūtras* in public and wrote a Buddhist work on Buddhist ritual. The first Chinese edition of the *Tripiṭaka*, in manuscript and not printed, was collected in 518 A.D. In 538 A.D. a hair of the Buddha was sent by the king of Fu-nan and received with great ceremony. The next year a mission was despatched to Magadh in order to obtain Sanskrit texts. It returned in 546 A D. with a large collection of manuscripts and the learned Brahmin named Paramārtha from Ujjen. The Brahmin spent twenty years in translating the texts of *Bauddha* Vijñanavāda, Vasubandhu, Asang, *Sānkhayakārika* of Īśwarkrisṇa and its commentary and many important works of Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Nāgārjuna and Guṇamati. Wu-Ti was so reluctant to inflict the punishment of death that crime increased. After Wu-Ti, his powerful General Houching assumed the imperial title but was slain immediately afterwards. Thereafter one of the Wu-Ti's sons, Yuan-Ti reigned from A.D. 552-555. He was a devoted Taoist. He was attacked by the troops of Wei.

This alteration of imperial patronage in the south might have inspired Wen Hsuan Ti, the ruler of the Northern Chi who summoned Buddhist and Taoist priests to a discussion. After hearing them he gave decision in favour of Buddhism and ordered the Taoists to become bonzes on pain of death.

The short Ch'en dynasty (A.D. 557-589) was favourable to the flourishing Buddhism. The first emperor retired to a monastery only after two years' reign. But in 575 A.D. Wu-Ti of the north Chou dynasty prohibited Buddhism and Taoism but not Confucianism and ordered the temples to be destroyed

and priests to return to the world. But the edict was withdrawn by his son in A.D. 582 and the founder of the Sui dynasty gave the population permission to become monks probably with a view to restoring the unity of the empire. In his old age he became a devout and no less than three collections of the *Tripiṭaka* were made between A.D. 594 and 616.

During the Tang dynasty Buddhism succeeded in establishing itself as the faith of the majority among both Tartars and Chinese. Though Buddhism tended to mingle with Taoism and other native ideas, many translations of Indian works and the increasing intercourse between Chinese and Hindus had diffused a knowledge of its true tenets and practice. The Tang dynasty witnessed a triangular war between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. This war continued under the northern Sung, though the character of Chinese Buddhism changed, for the Contemplative school which had considerable affinities to Taoism became popular at the expense of the Tien Tai.

Though the Tang dynasty was on the whole favourable to Buddhism its founder, Kao Tsu, advocated the necessity of Confucianism in the life of a Chinese, as also the emperor ordered the impure and insincere nuns and monks to vacate their monasteries. But his son Tai Tsung continued his religious policy and the new empress was strongly anti-Buddhist. Yet the emperor at the end of his reign allowed every monastery to receive five new monks and the celebrated journey of Hsuan Chwang was made (A D. 629-645) in his reign.

This famous traveller was born in a Confucius family. He studied the Buddhist scriptures moving round different monasteries and became a monk at the age of twenty. He had an ardent desire to visit the holy land of Śākya Muni which inspired him to move for the purpose in A.D. 629 after the torture inflicted upon the Buddhists during the reign of Tai-Tsung. Passing through the mountains via Central India he arrived at Kanauja where he was respectfully received by the Emperor Harṣavardhana. For several years he studied under Śīlabhadra at Nalanda and returned to his country after sixteen years. Learned monks were appointed to assist him in

translating the library he had brought back. The account of his travels was presented to the Emperor who also wrote a laudatory preface to his version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Besides, he founded the *Vijñānavāda Yogācāra* school in China.

It was in Tai Tsung's reign that the missionaries of Nestorian Christian first appeared in China and were allowed to settle in the capital. Diplomatic relations were maintained with India. The Indian Emperor Harṣa sent an envoy in 641 A.D. and two Chinese missions were despatched in return.

The later half of the seventh century is dominated by the Dowager Empress Wu, a concubine of Tai Tsung. When the emperor died in 649 A.D. she lived for a short time as a Buddhist nun. A magnificent temple was built for her lover Huai I. The lover was suspected of collecting a body of vigorous monks in the name of monastery's service. *Mahāmega Sūtra*, which was presented to her, was circulated among the people with her approval. About 690 A.D. she masqueraded as Maitreya. Emperor Hsuan Tsung forbade the building of monasteries, making of images and copying of *Sūtras*, and 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. But in A.D. 730 the seventh collection of the *Tripiṭaka* was made under his auspices. Many poets and painters of this period received inspiration from Buddhism. In 740 A D. there were in the city of Chiangan alone sixty-four monasteries and twenty-seven nunneries. In 751 A.D. a mission including Wu-king, also known as *Dharmadhātu* was sent to the king of Ki-pin, i.e. Kapisa or north-east Afghanistan. He remained for some time in India, took the vows and ultimately returned to China with many books and relics. During the whole period of the Tang dynasty the emperors excepting one Wu-Tsung (A.D. 841-847) were favourable to Buddhism. The later half of the eighth century marks in Buddhist history an epoch of increased popularity among the masses. But there spread ritual and doctrinal corruption. The connection of Buddhism with ceremonies for the repose and honour of the dead became more intimate These middle and later Tang emperors were not exclusive Buddhists. They were inclined to unworthy and outlandish superstitions. The growing importance of Central

and Western Asia in the Chinese policy and the consequent influx of their ideas are remarkable. In the mid Tsang period Manichaeism of the Uigurs, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—all were prevalent in China. Hsuan-Tsung, Su Tsung's son (A.D. 756-62), when established on the throne, began to show his devotion to Buddhism and installed a chapel in the palace.

The next emperor Tai Tsung was converted to Buddhism by his Minister Wangchin. The Emperor expounded the scriptures in public and the sacred books were carried from one temple to another in state-carriages. In 768 A.D. the eunuch Yu Chao En built a great Buddhist temple dedicated to the memory of the Emperor's deceased mother. His majesty appointed one thousand monks and nuns to perform masses for the dead annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This anniversary became generally observed as an All Souls' day, and is still one of the most popular festivals in China. Priests both Buddhist and Taoist recite prayers for the departed. The establishment of this festival was due to the celebrated teacher Amogha, a native of Ceylon who arrived in China in 719 A D. with his teacher Vajrabodhi. After the latter's death he revisited India and Ceylon in search of books and came back in A.D. 746. The Chinese *Tripiṭaka* contains 108 translations ascribed to him, mostly of a *Tāntric* character, though to the honour of China it must be said that the erotic mysticism of some Indian Tantras never found favour there. On Amogha rests the responsibility of making Buddhism, in popular estimation, a religion specially concerned with funeral rites. These ceremonial services of the dead were an essential part of Chinese religion which influenced the later development of Buddhism in China. The influence of such ceremonies are visible in the *Khuddakapātha* and other Pali books. The Emperor Hsien Tsung had been informed that in Fa-Men monastery of Shen-Si a bone of the Buddha was preserved. He ordered the relic to be brought to the capital and lodged in the Imperial Palace. Shortly afterwards the Emperor died. Emperor Wu-Tsung dealt Buddhism the severest blow. In a trenchant edict he commands that 4,600 great temples and 40,000 smaller rural

temples be domolished ; their enormous landed property be confiscated ; 260,500 monks and nuns be secularised and 150,000 temple-slaves be set free. These statistics are probably exaggerated.

When Hsuan Tsung's uncle came to the throne, his first act was to revoke the anti-Buddhist edict. The emperor and the ministers vied in the work of reconstruction. Nevertheless, in 852 A.D. the emperor favoured the complaints against the Buddhists and ordered that all monks and nuns must obtain special permission before taking ordination. His successor I-Tsung (A.D. 860-74) was an ostentatious and dissipated Buddhist. He again sent for the sacred bone from Fa-Men and received it at the Palace-gate and bowed before it. During the remainder of the T'ang dynasty there is little to recount about Buddhism. The dynasty was then followed by a fifty-three years' reign of five short dynasties founded by military adventures including those three of the Turkish race. In 960 A.D. the Sung dynasty united the Chinese elements in the Empire. With the twelfth century appeared the Kins or Golden Tartars, who demolished the power of the Khitans and later on conquered also the entire China, north of the Yangtz, but not to the south of it. Their power waned before the Mangols who conquered the greater part of Northern Asia and Eastern Europe. Kubilai, the Khan of the Mangols, became emperor of all China including that under the Sung Emperor in A.D. 1280. During the period of Tang and Sung dynasties many of the greatest landscape-painters of the Sung, including one Li Lung Mien, were inspired by Buddhism. The Chan or Contemplative (Japanese Zen) sect founded by Bodhidharma had the greatest influence on art and literature.

The Yuan or Mongol Court (A.D. 1280-1368) had not the prejudice like that of its preceding ones which had been a Confucian institution with the religious proclivities of individual emperors. Kubilai, like his elder brother Mangku, showed favour to Buddhists, Mohammedans and Nestorians alike. He was the patron of all the religions professed by his subject. His real object was to encourage any faith which would humanise his rude Mongols. Buddhism was more

congenial to them than Confucianism and besides, they had made its acquaintance earlier. Kubilai also showed favour to Christians, Jews and Confucianists, but little to Toaists due to their rivalry with Buddhism, which had influenced him to that extent. The Yuan dynasty was consistently favourable to Buddhism. Enormous sums were expended on monasteries, printing books and performing public ceremonies. Old restrictions were removed and new ones were imposed. But it was Lamaism, the form of Tibetan Buddhism spread about this time to Northern China which then received special favour from the Mongol emperors. They paid attention to religious literature. Kubilai saw to it that the monasteries in Peking were supplied with books and ordered the bonzes to recite them on stated days. A new collection of the *Tripiṭaka* (the ninth) was published (A.D. 1285-87). In 1312, the Emperor Jen-Tsung ordered further translations to be made into Mongol and later had the whole *Tripiṭaka* copied in letters of gold.

It is possible that the Buddhism of the Yuan dynasty was tainted with *Śaktism* from which the Lama monasteries of Paking are not wholly free. The last Emperor, Shun-Ti, is said to have witnessed indecent plays and dances in the company of Lamas and created a scandal which contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. Wealthy persons induced a Lama to let their property be registered in his name with a view to avoiding payment of taxes.

The Mongols were driven out by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, who reigned from A.D. 1368 to 1644. No salient feature in religious activity or thought during this period is visible. Tai-Tsu, the founder of the dynasty, had been himself a bonze in his youth but left the cloister for the adventurous career which conducted him to the throne. He published edicts, the numbers and qualifications of monks, attended sermons, received monks in audience and appointed them as tutors to his sons. He revised the hierarchy, gave appropriate titles to its various grades and published a decree ordering that all monks should study the *Lankāvatara*, the *Prajñāpāıamitā* and the *Vajracchedikā* ; and that brief commentaries on these should be compiled. It is in his reign that we first hear of the secular clergy, that is to say, persons who acted as priests but married and did not live in a monastery. Decrees against them were issued in A.D. 1394 and 1412, but they continued to increase. But the celibacy of the clergy is not strictly insisted on by Lamaists and a lax observance of monastic rules was common under the Mongol dynasty. The third Ming Emperor, Chieng-Tzu, though educated by a Buddhist priest, enacted restrictions respecting ordinations and on one occasion commanded that 1,800 young men, who presented themselves to take the vows, should be enrolled in the army instead. His prefaces and laudatory verses were collected in a small volume and included in the eleventh collection of the *Tripiṭaka*, called northern collection. In A.D. 1403 Lama Halima of Tibet visited the Chinese capital. His three principal disciples were made the chief prelates of the whole Buddhist Church. Since then the Tibetan Clergy have been recognized as having precedence over the Chinese. During this period the Chinese made a remarkable attempt to assert their authority in Ceylon. In 1405 A.D. a mission was sent with offerings to the Sacred Tooth. It was ill-received. A second mission despatched in 1407 A.D. captured the king of Ceylon.

In the reigns of Ying Tsung and Ching-Ti (A.D. 1436-64) large number of monks were ordained. This led to the imposition of restrictions that ordination should be held only once a year. The chief eunuchs during this period, Wang-Chen and Hsing-An were devoted Buddhists and induced the emperor to expend enormous sums on building monasteries and performing ceremonies.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century Emperor Hsien is said to be in the hands of his concubine, eunuchs and Buddhist priests, who instructed him in secret doctrines. His son Hsiao Tsung reformed these abuses by driving them out from the palace. At this time there lived the celebrated writer Wang Yang Ming who advocated the attainment of truth by intuitive knowledge through meditation. However fervently he might have appealed to the Chinese classics, the influence of Bodhidharma and his school was not made invisible. In the

first quarter of the sixteenth century the reign of Wu-Tsung was favourable to Buddhism. The emperor is said to have been a scholar of Buddhist literature knowing Sanskrit as well as Mongol and Arabic. In 1515 A.D. he sent an embassy to Tibet with the object of inducing the Grand Lama to visit Peking, but the invitation was refused and the Tibetans expelled the mission with force. The next Emperor, Shih-Tsung (A.D. 1522-66) was not favourable to Buddhism. He ordered the images of Buddha in the Forbidden City (Tibet) to be destroyed, but still he appears to have taken part in Buddhist ceremonies at different periods. Wan Li (A.D. 1575-20), who showed some favour to Buddhism repaired many buildings at Pu-To and distributed copies of the *Tripiṭaka* to the monasteries of his empire. In his edicts occurs the saying that Confucianism and Buddhism are like the two wings of a bird, each requires the co-operation of the other. European missionary first arrived during the sixteenth century. The polemics of the early missionaries imply that they regarded Buddhism as their chief rival.

In 1644 A.D. the Ming dynasty collapsed. Unlike the Mongols, the Manchus, though both were foreign rulers, had little inclination to Buddhism. Even before they had conquered China, their prince, Tsai Tsung limited the number of monks. But in his edict he inveighs only against the abuse of religion and admits that "Buddha's teaching is at bottom pure and chaste ; true and sincere : its follower obtains happiness." Shun-Shih, the first Manchu Emperor, wrote some prefaces to Buddhist works and entertained the Dalai Lama at Peking in 1652 A.D. His son and successor, Kang-Hsi (A.D. 1662-1727) showed partial favour to Buddhism, gave donations to the monasteries of Pu-to, Hang-Chou and elsewhere, and published the Kanjur with a preface of his own. The twelfth and last collection of the *Tripiṭaka* was issued under the auspices of his son and grandson. The latter, the Emperor Chien Lung also received the Teshu Lama as a teacher of spiritual religion. He also wrote a preface to a *Sūtra* for producing rain. Even the late Empress Dowager accepted the ministration of Dalai Lama during his visit to Peking in 1908

A.D. Her former colleague, the Empress Tzu-An, was a devout Buddhist. The statutes of the Manchu dynasty (printed in 1818 A.D.) contain regulations for the celebration of Buddhist festivals at court, for the periodical reading of *Sūtras* to promote the imperial welfare, and for the performance of funeral rites. The restriction imposed by Manchu dynasty, which had shown less favour to Buddhism than all the preceding ones, merely led to an increase of the secular clergy, who were ultimately allowed by Chien-Lung in the middle of the eighteenth century to continue as laymen or monks if they could show good reasons, and to have one disciple each. Manchus reigned over China till 1911 A.D., after which they became Chinese due to their close touch with each other.

The collection of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures as detailed in the catalogue compiled by Bunyin Nanjo, enumerates 1632 works classified in four great divisions : *Sūtra Vinaya*, *Abhidharma* and Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations only and the fourth consists of original Chinese works as well.

Each of the schools of Chinese Buddhism tolerate the deities, rites and books of all the other sects. There is no clear distinction between *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna*. The main division is of course into Lamaism on one side and all remaining sects on the other. Besides, we find a record of ten schools. The more important ones among them are the following :

(1) The Cheng-Shis Tsung or Sautrāntic, Japanese Ji-Jitsu-Shu dates from the sixth or seventh century and is not of much importance in either of the two countries ;

(2) the San-Lun-Tsung, Japanese-San-Ron-Shun representing the extreme of *Mahāyānism* ;

(3) Bodhidharma's contemplative school, Japanese Zen professes that the only true reality is the Buddha nature in the heart of every man which only is to be gazed out ;

(4) the Tien-Tai paid attention to a ceremonial with *Samatha* and *Vipassanā*, i.e. "calm and insight" as the motto of the school ;

(5) the two Indian schools of Chu She-Tsung with its chief authority *Abhidharma Kośa* and Fa-Hsiang Tzu-en

Tsung or *Vijñānamātratā* lasted between sixth and ninth centuries ;

(6) the Hua Yen-Tsung was founded in the middle of seventh century and is opposed to pantheistic and nihilistic schools ;

(7) the Lu Tsung or *Vinaya* school founded by Tao Hsuan (595-667) emphasises discipline and asceticism ;

(8) Chen-Yen (Japanese Shin-Gon, i.e. true word, or Mi-Chiao, i.e. secret teaching) equivalent to *Mantra* or *Tantra* Yāna is akin to Tibetan Buddhism. It made its first appearance in the eighth century. It is simply polytheism, fetichism and magic. Its principal deity is *Vairocana,* analogous to *Amitābha* and probably like him a Persian sun-god in origin. It is a short-cut to salvation. It teaches that *Vairocana* is the whole world divided into *Garbhadhātu* (material) and *Vajradhātu* (indestructible), the two together forming *Dharmadhātu.* Lamaism is not usually reckoned as a Tsung inasmuch as it is identical with the religion of Tibet and Mongolia. It has secret societies. There are many other sects with a political tinge, such as the Anti-Mongol White Lotus or the secret society of Triad, the rebellion Tai-Ping sect—probably from a perversion of Christianity, and several others. The Pure Land School, in whose connection numerous societies and brotherhood arose is included in *Mahāyāna*.

Chinese Buddhism claimed that Buddha can be found in the heart, i.e. spiritual or Buddha image of man, and aimed at becoming Buddha as the Bodhisattvas have done in countless existences. The Chinese *Tripiṭakas* have for practical purposes been supplemented by other manuals. The Fan-Wang-Ching expounds a late and even degenerate form of Buddhism including the burning of the head or limbs as a religious practice. A monk is strictly bidden to follow and preach the *Mahāyāna.* It is a sin for him to follow or preach the doctrine of *Śrāvakas* or read their books or not aspire to ultimate Buddhahood. The Pai Chang-Ching Kuei deals rather with the details of organization and ritual and the desirable relations between Church and State are herein dealt with.

The Pagodas, which have a characteristic beauty of

Chinese landscapes, are in their origin *Stūpas* erected over relics. The majority of monks are dedicated by their parents. The true doctrine of the *Mahāyāna* is that everyone should strive for the happiness and salvation of beings. In the course of many ceremonies, the monks take vow on behalf of all beings and undertake to work for their salvation.

We would now like to take up Korea which inherited Buddhism from China.

Section III

BUDDHISM IN KOREA

After China, Buddhism first entered into the three different states of Korea through different agencies in the different years of the fourth century A.D. It was introduced in Koguryu by a Chinese monk in 372 A.D., in Pekche through the agency of the Central Asian monk named Marananda some twelve years after, and lastly in Silla in the fifth century A.D. In 552 A.D. both Japan and Pekche were at war with Silla. The king of Pekche, with a view to making an alliance with the emperor of Japan, sent him presents which included Buddhist books and images. Thus Korea was the intermediary for introducing Buddhism, writing, and Chinese culture into Japan, and Korean monks played an important part there both in art and religion.

Before the rule of the Wang dynasty of Korea, i.e. the tenth century A.D. Buddhism had been spreading under the influence of the kings of the Silla dynasty. In the seventh century A.D. the capital of Silla was a centre of Buddhist culture. At this time several Korean pilgrims visited India[1] and many famous scholars like Yuan Tso: Yuan Hiao, Yisiang and others went to China in the seventh century A.D. to study the Buddhist doctrine.

In A.D. 918 the Wang dynasty overthrew the kingdom of Silla and with it the old Korean aristocracy. This was

1. According to I-tsing five Korean monks visited India, two of these set out in 638 A.D. and lived and died in Nālandā.

replaced by an official nobility modelled on that of China. Buddhism flourished much, festivals were celebrated by the Court, magnificent monasteries were founded, the bonzes kept troops and entered the capital armed, the chancellor of the kingdom was often ecclesiastic, and a law is said to have been enacted to the effect that if a man had three sons one of them must become a monk. Korean Buddhism was at the height of its power in the eleventh century A.D.

After the eleventh century A.D. Buddhism which had hitherto been the religion of the aristocracy of the Silla dynasty, became the faith of the common people owing largely to the efforts of Yi Tien, Puchao and a number of other monks. Yi Tien, famous for editing of the catalogue of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (Yi Tien Lu) studied Buddhism in China and then propagated the doctrine of Houa Yen and then Tien Tai sects in Korea. He also wrote articles on Buddhism in the Korean language. Puchao introduced Zen Buddhism in Korea. It was from Korea that Buddhism first entered into Japan. When during the wars of the five dynasties the Tien-tai school was nearly annihilated in China it was revived by a Korean priest and the earliest exten edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* is known only a single copy preserved in Korea and thence to Japan.

During the period the Yuan dynasty of the Mongolian empire had gained sovereignty over the Wang dynasty, Korean Buddhism was much influenced by Lamaism. After the decline of this emperor, the Rhe dynasty of Chozen (Korea) accepted Confucianism which dislodged Buddhism from its honour and caused a series of restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution. The statues were melted down and Buddhist learning was forbidden. About the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. the monasteries in the capital and all other cities were closed and this is why Korean monasteries are all in the country and often in almost inaccessible mountains (It is only since the Japanese occupation that temples have been built in towns). Nevertheless, even though it lost royal patronage in Korea, Buddhism continued to flourish as the religion of the masses. When Hideyoshi invaded Korea in A.D. 1552 as part of his attack on China, people rose against the Japanese troops, and the bonzes, it is said, took part as soldiers fighting under their abbots and the treaty of peace was negotiated by a Korean and a Japanese monk. Modern Korean Buddhism is, in fact, Zen Buddhism tinged with a belief in *Amitābha* Buddha or *Maitreya* Bodhisattva. Chinese symbolic script being prevalent in Korea, Buddhist works were not required to be translated in Korean. Struggle of life has been so actue in Korea during the last century that the interest of the Korean youth towards their cultural tradition could not keep them in full control against the Western culture which along with Christianity attracted many of them.

Let us now turn to Japan which received Buddhism through Korea.

Section IV

BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

Koreans, who received Buddhism from China due to their close relations, were in touch with Japan. At various times weavers, masons, carpenters, Chinese scholars, physicians, diviners and persons skilled in the mysteries of the calendar were sent to Japan. In the middle of the sixth century A.D., during the reign of Kimmei in Japan the king of Pekche (Kudara) in the South Korea sent a mission with presents consisting of the images of the Buddha (Shaka Butsu) and a number of Buddhist *Sūtras*, as also a memorial speaking of the merit of this religion. Though the ministers of the Japanese court were divided in their opinion as to the acceptance of this foreign deity in Japan, Buddhism gradually infiltrated in this land. The Soga family of Japan was for Buddhism, while the Mononobe and Nikatomi, who were against it, held charges connected with Shintoism, the native cult of Japan. The second Korean mission from Pekche and tributes from Silla, both related to Buddhism, reached Japan in the last quarter of this century. After the Emperor

Kimmei, in A.D. 584 Umako Soga, seeking for Buddhists, erected temples of *Maitreya* (Miro Ku) and maintained a few nuns during the tolerant Emperor Bidatsu. Mononobe burnt the images along with the temple and imprisoned the nuns. Anti-Buddhist agruments, however, being less convincing, the Soga were permitted to practise Buddhism as a family cult, but not with too great publicity.

During the short reign of the next sovereign called Yomei there was nothing of importance with Buddhism except this that the king while ill, wanted to become a Buddhist. As the emperor's end approached, the son Shibatatto is said to have offered himself for renouncing the world on behalf of the king and for making an image of the Buddha along with a temple. This implies that Buddhism was already well-known at court. On the death of Yomei, the *Nihongi* relates, Prince Umaydo erected the temple of Tennoji at Osaka and Soga the temple of Hokoji near Nara. During the reign of Sujun, the successor of Yomei and father of Umaydo, another mission arrived from Pakche with priests and relics, many temples were built and nuns were sent to Korea for study. This emperor was murdered by Soga. The daughter of Emperor Kimmei became the Empress in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and Umaydo became the imperial prince and regent. He is better known as the famous Sotoku Taishi, the real founder of Japanese Buddhism.

Sotoku was the greatest scholar of his time. Like Asoka he was kind and humane and perhaps a greater statesman. Ancient Japan was terribly barbarous. Hence Buddhism attracted Sotoku for its humanity. He was a student of the Chinese classics as well as of the Buddhist scriptures and a lover of art. His life was above reproach and as a ruler he won the hearts of his people. He made a special study of *Mādhyamika* (Nāgārjuna) philosophy. Naturally Buddhism spread and flourished. Sotoku, on the one hand, sent hundreds of students to Korea and China, and on the other hand, he brought several weavers, carpenters, masons, painters and other persons skilled in different arts and sciences to train up his countrymen. Officials, says *Nihongi*, vied with one another

in erecting temples. In 605 A.D. orders were issued for the construction of representations of the Buddha in copper and embroidery, sixteen feet high, and in A.D. 607 the great monastery of Horyuji was founded. Several missions from Korea presented images and were accompanied by priests. The *Nihongi* states that in 623 A.D. there were in Japan 46 temples, 816 priests and 569 nuns. An important step was taken in A.D. 616 when the oracle of Miwa declared that Buddhist priests were the proper persons to perform funeral rites. In 604 A.D. Shotoka published an edict of ethical maxims on the need of harmony and sincere reverence to the Three Refuges of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Samgha*. This seems to make Buddhism almost the established or at least the approved church, and so indeed it was for the court and upper classes. Besides his position in religion Shotoku was the best and most benevolent of all the rulers of Japan. His literary activity was considerable. He was a great lecturer and writer on religion. His most serious studies were devoted to the Buddhist scriptures. He wrote expositions on the *Saddharma-pundarika*, the *Vimala Kirtinirdesa*, etc. among which the first one, still preserved in the Imperial Palace at Tokyo, is believed to be in his own hand-writing.

The first manifestation of Buddhism in Japan consisted chiefly in adapting it to Shintoism, a native cult of Japan. For this purpose Buddhist monks accepted ancestor worship and admitted, side by side with Buddha's image, the gods of Shintoism on the ground that these represented the various incarnations of the Buddha. Thus Buddhism was able gradually to establish itself among the common people without rejecting Shintoism outright. The greatest abvantage which Buddhism in Japan had, was that it was introduced along with the highly developed culture of China. It was largely because of its cultural character that Buddhism was accepted by the aristocracy which was the intellectual class of Japan in those days. Once patronized, it rapidly spread throughout the country. Several emperors of ancient Japan adopted the faith and contributed to its expansion by founding monasteries and writing books on the scriptures.

It was in Temu's reign that a most remarkable step was taken to popularise the new creed, which had hitherto flourished mainly in the immediate vicinity of the court. "Orders were sent to all the provinces" says the *Nihongi*, "that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines." "Every house", doubtless means every official house, but in the time the practice spread to private dwellings. Many other instances of imperial favour to Buddhism are recorded such as gifts offered to priests and nuns, ordinations in the palace, etc. A copy of the Issai-Kyo or entire Buddhist canon was made and recited.

Temu's successor the Empress Jito (A.D. 686-697) showed a similarly imperial piety. The Buddhist clergy grew in number as many as 3363 belonging to seven temples. Priests came from Korea and students who had completed their studies returned from China. In A.D. 689 images of Amida Kwannon, and Daiseshi were brought from Silla. In 693 A.D , the Ninno-Kyo, i.e. a portion of the *Prajñāpāramitā* was expounded in the hundred provinces and in the previous year the Viceroy of Tusukushi (Kyushu) was ordered to propagate the Buddhist religion.

In 710 A.D. during the reign of the Empress Gemmuyo, Nara was made the capital and remained so for more than seventy years after which Kyoto received that honour.

The introduction of Buddhism into Japan was not due to missionary enterprise. The king of Pekche wished to make an alliance with the emperor of Japan, and therefore to please him and knowing the desire of the Japanese to acquire Chinese civilization, he thought, he could not do better than make them acquainted with Buddhist literature and ritual. Evidently it was considered that the presents of the king of Pekche had made a good impression, for during many years the various Korean states continued to send images, *Sūtras*, and priests whenever they thought it expedient to humour the Japanese. On the other hand the Japanese had a desire to learn Buddhism. They encouraged and besought foreign

priests to settle in Japan. They also sent numerous batches of young men to study in China. Two priests were dispatched in 568 A.D. to receive instructions from Yuan Chwang. Naturally there was some hostility between the imported faith and native religious institutions which had hitherto no competitor, but were styled Shinto—the way of the gods, in opposition to Butsudo—the way of the Buddha. At first the quarrel was acute and followed the lines of rivalry between certain noble houses. Then, when Buddhism had established its position, Shinto seemed to have fallen somewhat into neglect, but it soon recovered and in the last half of the seventh century the emperors, though clearly encouraging Buddhism, were careful to honour both creeds. Their attitude was dictated by statesmanship and superstition alike. This impartial piety led to the religious compromise called Ryobu-Shinto or twofold Shinto, which lasted until A.D. 1868 and more or less fused the two religions, though they could be separated if desired. Both in China and Japan it has always been considered quite natural to follow the observances of more than one religion and Buddhism raised no objection to the practice. Early Japanese Buddhism also raised no objection to the performance of Shinto ceremonies. Theories identifying the native deities with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas came a little later. The sects introduced from China in those days were six in number : Kusha (the *Abhidharma Kosa* school), Sanron (the Three-Treatise school of the *Mādhyamika*), Jojitsu (*Satyasiddhi Śāstra* school) and Kegon (the *Avatansaka* school), Hosso (the *Dharma Lakṣaṇa* school) and Ritsu (the *Vinaya* school). They were Buddhist institutions rather than religious sects.

The Jojitsu and Sanron sects are said to have been introduced into Japan by the Korean priest in 625 A.D. and by the Chinese priests-the Hosso in 654 A.D., and the Kusha in A D. 658. But they were not sects pledged to support particular doctrines, but simply philosophical school which expounded certain text books. The Hosso is said to have been introduced no less than four times between A.D. 654-735. It had two branches known as Northern and Southern,

During the years A.D. 634-701 there was a hermit named En-No-Gyoja who was credited with miraculous powers. He is said to have remembered that in previous births he had been a disciple of Gotama and also an emperor of Japan. This type of recluse became frequent in later times, but in the earliest records we hear little of the mystic and ascetic side of Buddhism. Nihongi is said to state that men were sent to all parts to expound the Kon-Kwo-Nyo (*Suvarnaprabhāsa*) and *Ninnosūtras*. But numerous passages show that *Sūtras* were expounded to give peace and prosperity to the empire, to bring rain, to stop pestilence, or to avert the consequences of evil omens such as eclipses. The Ninnokyo is a portion of the great *Prajñāpāramitā*.

Even more remarkable is the practice of entering the Buddhist order not for one's own salvation but as a species of self-sacrifice on behalf of another person. In modern China also it is popularly believed that if a man becomes a monk his ancestors will go to heaven.

It will be noticed that most of the observances in Japan have a direct reference to human troubles and are concerned with averting disasters like drought, sickness, and death. On the former occasion a copper image of the Buddha, sixteen feet high was enshrined in the Golden Hall of the Temple of Gangoji and a great vegetarian banquet was held. The festival is still observed on the 4th April, when it is the custom to pour sweet tea over the head of an image of the youthful Budddha, this liquid having replaced the original water. Fa-Hsien and Iching both mentioned bathing images as a common religious rite in India.

The principal scriptures, the Lotus, the *Sukhāvati Vyūha*, the *Ninno*, and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* seem to have been held in special esteem. Anyone who had mastered the *Lotus* and *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* must have had a good knowledge of Mahāyānist doctrine. The scriptures were recited partially or wholly as it suited the occasion.

The reign of Shomu (A.D. 724-748), perhaps the most religious of all the Japanese Emperors, of Empress Koken and lastly of Emperor Konin, i.e. the seventy-five years or so

during which the court resided at Nara (A.D. 710-784) form a well-marked epoch in the history of Buddhism and are spoken of as the period when it was most prosperous. It is at this period that Bodhisena or Baramon Sojo, a Brāhmana teacher of Sanskrit from South India who had been to China in the hope of finding *Manjuśri*, and Fo-t-ieh or Buttesu, the Combojan priest and musician arrived in Japan and resided in the temple of Dainji[1]. The monasteries were well-endowed with estates and treasure and their property tended to increase, for it paid no taxes.

In A.D. 784 the Emperor Kwarmu removed his court from Nara to Nagaoka and again in 793 A.D. in the neighbourhood to Heiankyo, more commonly known as Kyoto. From the end of the eighth to the end of the twelfth century A.D., i.e. until the rise of Kamakura, it was also the centre of Japanese Buddhism. It is remarkable that of the older sects of Japanese Buddhism the two which became and still are most numerous and important, the Tendai founded by Saicho (A.D. 767-822) and Shingon by Kukai (A.D. 774-835), did not originate in Nara but fixed their centres at Hieizan and Koyasan shortly after the court had moved to Kyoto. Their object was to nationalize Buddhist doctrines with a view to making Buddhism a religion of the common people as also to disciplining the monks in Buddhist monasteries who kept aloof from the everyday world. They laid stress not merely on

1. Japanese chronicles preserve the story of an Indian monk Bodhisena who along with another monk from Champā reached Japan in 730 A.D. On their arrival at Osaka, they were received with great honour by the Imperial messenger. It appears that both Buddhism and Sanskrit were well-known in Japan. Bodhisena was asked to perform the installation ceremony of colossal image of Buddha Vairocana in a monastery there in 749 A.D. In 750 A.D. Bodhisena was appointed Head of the Buddhist order in Japan. He taught Sanskrit and the Mahāyāna doctrine of *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* in three different monasteries and died in 760 A.D. at the age of 57. A stūpa was erected over his remains. The arrangement of Japanese language in fifty phonetic sounds is ascribed by some scholars to Bodhisena.

spiritual salvation, but also on the fulfilment of the doctrine in this world.

Buddhism, no doubt became nationalised by the efforts of both these sects, but the doctrines were still too scholarly to be easily understood by the common people, who tended to accept only the superstitions attached to them. With the change in the Buddhist environment many people gave up this world in order to seek spiritual rest in the world beyond.

A rew Buddhist movement arose in the 10th century in the form of belief in *Amitābha Buddha*, whose name was recited with the object of being reborn in his Pure Land. This movement was followed by independent new sects which arose during the 12th and 13th centuries and emphasized belief in *Amitābha*. They were Yuzu-nenbutsu—founded by Ryonin (A.D. 1072-1132), Jodo—founded by Honen (A.D. 1133-1212), Jodo-Shin—founded by Shinran (A.D. 1173-1262), and the Ji—founded by Ippen (A.D. 1239-1289). The factors common to them were in the definition of laymanship and in the efforts to purify and simplify both doctrine and practice which attracted many followers from among the farmers, peasants and warriors.

During the Kamakura period there arose two sects, one was introduced by Eisai (A.D. 1141-1215) and Dozen (A.D. 1200-1233) and the other was Nichiren—founded by Nichiren (A.D. 1222-1282). Zen Buddhism spread mainly among warriors, and influenced Japanese culture considerably. With the rise of tbe aforementioned two sects Buddhism was completely absorbed by Japan.

After the Kamakura period there was no remarkable development in Japanese Buddhism other than the expansion of the various sects. During the Edo period (A.D. 1603-1867) it took the position of a national religion under the protection of the Tokugawa Shogunate against the influence of Christianity over the Japanese. Thus towards the end of this era Buddhist activities took the form of scholarly studies in the faith. But after the Meiji Restoration in A.D. 1868 Buddhism became deprived of public support on account of the hostility of nationalistic Shintoism. Fortunately the Government had

guaranteed freedom of religion under the constitution and by the efforts of the adherents of Buddhism and specially of the monks who tried to find a new scientific meaning in the old doctrines, the danger could, however, be averted. Thereafter some Buddhist missionaries went over to America, Hawaii and other countries to propagate Buddhism in the light of the modern studies in it.

Let us now consider how Buddhism spread in Tibet, Mongolia and Nepal. It may be noted here that it was only the revelations of Mantrayāna which could stand well with the superstitious Tibetans who added their sorcery to this corrupt form of Buddhism and defamed the faith in India where it was ultimately assimilated with the Śaiva Tantras of Hinduism.

14

Buddhism in Tibet, Mongolia and Nepal

Tibet

Tibet was surrounded by the Buddhist world consisting of India, Khotan, Mongolia, China and Burma with which the country must have had cultural contacts long before Srong-tsan. The credit, however, undoubtedly goes to king Srong-tsan for organizing the nomadic tribe of Tibet which was divided into several small independent units. He united them and his kingdom was stretched in the Himalayan regions between Assam and Kashmir and thence up to the hilly regions of Thy-an-tsan in the eastern portion of Central Asia. The countries which surrounded his kingdom were all Buddhists, viz. Nepal and Kashmir in the south, and Turkestan and China in the north and east. A Tibetan legend states that some Buddhist missionaries from India arrived at the court of the Tibetan king, Tho-tho-ri, with presents of Buddhist books which were refused inasmuch as the Tibetans had no knowledge of alphabetic script. Sron-tsang adopted all measures to promote education and culture in his country. The two wives : Bhṛkuti, the daughter of king Ansuvarman of Nepal, and Wen cheng. the daughter of the Chinese king Tai-tsung had brought the images of *Akṣobhaya, Maitreya* and *Śākyamuni* with them and persuaded him that Buddhism was a necessary part of civilization.

According to tradition Srong-tsan, before these marriages, sent to India a Tibetan called Thonmi Sambhota along with sixteen other aspirants. They studied epigraphy, phonetics and grammar there for several years and adopted a form of Indian writing to the use of their native language. This Thonmi is also remembered as the first Tibetan to prepare the translation of some Sanskrit Buddhist works including grammar. Srong-tsan promulgated laws to harmonize with the Ten *Śilas* or Buddhist virtues. The famous temples of Ramoche and Jokhang in Lhasa, and the eleven storeyed palace of Potala owe to this king for their construction. Srong-tsan and his two wives are now regarded as the first patrons of Lamaism and worshipped as incarnations of *Avalokita* and *Tārā*. Buddhism thus brought, though it proved victorious over the native animistic and Bon religious beliefs of Tibet, could not inspire the Tibetans to take vows.

After Srong-tsan, it is in the reign of his fifth successor Khri-Sron-Ide-Btsan during the last half of the eighth century that efforts were made to introduce regular conversion into Buddhism. For this the celebrated philosopher, Śāntarakṣita of Nalanda University was invited to the Tibetan court. But the older religion of Tibet then consisted of defensive warfare against the attacks of evil spirits and in China the Mantryāna system of Chenyen was introduced. So also in India this form of corrupt Buddhism was then obviously the dominant sect. Hence, Śāntarakṣita, who had his mission of establishing faith in the enlightened teaching of Buddhism could not stand out the indigenous superstitious beliefs of the Tibetans. He, therefore, advised the king to send for Padmasambhava, the celebrated apostle of *Tāntric* Buddhism who could stand well with the Tibetans' liking of primitive sorcery.

Accordingly, when Padmasambhava came to this land he assumed the congenial character of a victorious exorcist subduing the local demons by preaching a non-celibate and magical form of Buddhism, ready to amalgamate with local superstitions and needing new revelations for its justification. The Tibetans called him *Guru* Rinpoche out of high regard for him. It is during this period that the first great Tibetan

monastery of Samaye or Bsam-yas was built on the model of Emperor Dharmapāla's Odantapuri (Biharsharif) in Bihar. Here *Mara* was worshipped along with the Buddhas. It is said that Śāntarakṣita, who later became abbot and from whose period dates the foundation of the order of Lamas, had called for twelve *Sarvāstivādin* monks from Nalanda in order to ordain seven Tibetans immediately after the construction of this monastery. Buddhism thus got firm footing in Tibet with establishment of the monastery and the order of monks by Śāntarakṣita, who, even today, is called *Mahāpaṇḍita Bodhisattva* in Tibet. Śāntarakṣita's able disciple and commentator Ācārya Kamalaśīla of Nalanda also visited Tibet in course of a debate organized by the king after Śāntarakṣita's death when nihilistic traditions of Buddhist philosophy was gaining ground there under the leadership of a Chinese philosopher. Kamalaśīla strongly opposed the same in the light of the constructive aspect of the Buddhist teachings as preached by his teacher and was ultimately declared victorious in the combat. But he was murdered by the supporters of nihilism. The king because of his learning, was regarded by Tibetans as an incarnation of *Manjuśri*.

Khri-Srong-Ide-Btsan's son Mu-ne-btsan-po, who was saturated with the Bodhisattva ideal of sacrificing all including salvation, began to implement equality of wealth among his subjects. But this could not be feasible until there was proper distribution of labour. During the reign of Ral-Pa-Chen (A.D. 816-38) the teachings of Padmasambhava propagated by his disciples (all magicians), flourished to the extent that hierarchy was reorganized. Monasteries multiplied and received land and tithes. A considerable part of the canon was then rendered into Tibetan. His elder brother Leng-dar-ma, who succeeded him, was a professed enemy of Buddhism. He wanted to extirpate Lamaism. Monasteries were destroyed, books burnt, Indian monks driven out of the country and many Lamas compelled to become butchers or hunters. The wicked king met with retribution in the form of his assassination at the hands of a monk in A.D. 841. Thereafter his weak successors lost their hold on their dependencies, as also their united

kingdom became divided among clans and chieftains. At last, in about 925 A.D. king Dpal-hkhor-btsan's son was compelled to leave the capital of Lhasa. He went to Western Tibet and established his kingdom with Ladakh, Kanaur and Barhata which also were later on distributed among his sons. The ecclesiastical history during the tenth century is silent. Waddell, in his book, ***Buddhism*** states that not a single event is mentioned between A.D. 899-1002.

But among the successors of the aforementioned three royal branches in Western Tibet, there were some distinguished rulers who patronized learned monks and Buddhist Sanskrit translation work, as also they sent Tibetan scholars to Kashmir to study Buddhism. One Hkhore-Ide or Jñānaprabha among them even renounced his throne to become a monk along with his two sons and managed for the arrival of Atiśa of Dīpankar Śrījñāna, the most illustrious Pandita of Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra in A.D. 1038. Thence forward Buddhism flourished in Tibet as an indigenous mode of religious and philosophical thought.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Buddhism in Tibet suffered corruption. The monks did not care either to go through the scriptures or to abide by the disciplinary rules. The *Tāntrics* indulged in intoxicants and adultery as acts of religion. In India it was then the age of 84 *Siddhas* during the Pāla regime (A.D. 765-1206) and Tilopa and Naropa were still alive. The latter was also a great scholar. He was put in charge of the northern gate of Vikramaśilā *Mahāvihāra*. Marpa, the most famous *Siddha*, was one of his disciples. So also Maitri Gupta, the *Guru* of Bodhibhadra who was the head of Nalanda University, had abandoned the path of scholarship and had become known as Maitripa Advayavajra of Avadhutipa after taking to the way of *Siddhas*.

As the cult of the *Mantras* and the *Siddhas* was dominant in those days, Atisa had of necessity to study these subjects at the feet of Naropā after coming from Bodhibhadra of Nālandā. Thereafter he went to the Vajrāsana monastery at Bodh Gāyā where he studied the *Vinaya Piṭaka* under Śīlarakṣita. Thus he became an all-round scholar of the three *Piṭakas* and the

Tantras. But his wanderlust, still unsatisfied as it was, Atiśa set sail for Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumātrā) to meet the world-famous Buddhist scholar Ācārya Dharampāla who was the *Guru* of the dialectician Jñānaśrī Mitra and of the Chief Abbot 'Kalikāla Sarvajña' Siddha Ratnākara Śānti, both belonging to the Vikramaśilā monastery. He travelled for fourteen months and during the period he might have visited Burma and Malaya also. He stayed with Ācāryā Dharmapāla for twelve years and studied the great works under him. Thereafter he left Sumātrā to return to Vikramaśilā.

It was then the reign of Vijayapāla (A.D. 960-1040) in Magadha, when Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded India in the first quarter of the eleventh century and plundered Kanauja, Mathura, Banaras, Kalanjar and Somnath. So also Buddhism had almost disappeared from Central Asia with the impact of Islam and its bloody wars which ruined hundred of *Vihāras*. It is said that Atiśa had formerly refused Jñānaprabha's invitation of coming over Tibet for reformation of Buddhism from the evils of *Tāntrism*. Later on, he came to know that Jñānaprabha was taken captive by the *Rājā* of Garlog (probably Garhwal) where the former had gone to collect gold to meet the expenses likely to be incurred in connection with bringing Atiśa to Tibet. Jñānaprabha did not like that his son Bodhiprabha should invest the huge amount of money in releasing his old father from the jail. He wanted it to be incurred in fetching the renowned Indian scholar to their country. Atiśa was moved with pity at his sacrifice and made up his mind to visit the Land of Snow even though he was then almost sixty and Ratnākaraśanti, the Chief Abbot of the *Mahāvihāra*, was reluctant to relieve him for fear of the rising tide of Islam against the low ebb of Buddhism in the country. He started for Tibet via Nepal, where also he stayed for a year at the request of the King, probably called Jayakāmadeva and initiated one of the princes into the order. Ultimately he reached Tibet and spent his last thirteen years there in translating and writing important Sanskrit books including the commentary on the *Kālacakra*.

Before the arrival of Atiśa to Tibet, the clergy with 'red hats' known as Nying-ma-pa of the old school of Buddhism with four main sub-sects, viz. Udyana, Dorge-dag, Mindolling and Pemeiohgchi, advocated the worship of Padmasambhava, the founder *Guru*, and believed in the fulfilment of both the divine and the demonical achievements. Atiśa's reformed teaching, based upon the *Yogācāra* traditions founded by Maitreya and Asaṅga, inspired his Tibetan disciple Hbromston to establish the Bkah-gdamspa or Kadampa school which took the synthetic view of both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* in enforcing celibacy upon the monks and in discouraging magical practices. It was on this basis that the great Tibetan reformer, Tson-Kha-pa (born in A.D. 1358) founded the Dgelugs-pa sect in the 14th century after eliminating elaborate ritualism from the Bkahg-dams-pa school. This is the sect which dominated Tibetan Buddhism both temporarily and spiritually through the religious succession of the Dalai Lamas prior to Chinese control over Tibet during the recent years.

The Śākya sect was founded in the later half of the eleventh century by a loyal prince called Śākya. The Tibetan historian Taranath belonged to one of its sub-sects called Jonang and in about 1600 A.D. settled in Mongolia and founded the monastery of Urga and established the line of incarnate Lamas. But after his death this monastery was forcibly taken over by the Yellow Church. The Śākya mixes the *Tantras* of the old and new sects and according to Waddell Buddhism is practically indistinguishable from the Nying-ma-pa. The same is probably true of the Kar-Gyu-pa. This is said to have been founded by Marpa and his follower Milarapa, the cotton-clad saint who set an example of solitary and wandering lives of Indian ascetics. It has several important sub-sects, such as the Karmapa found in Sikkim and Darjiling as also in Tibet, the Dugha which is predominant in Bhutan and perhaps in Ladakh, and the Dikungpa.

The main distinction is between the Gelugpa or Yellow Church and all the other sects. This Yellow Church was founded by Tson-Kha-Pa who removed all deviations and superstitious beliefs. This is based on sound learning, discipline and celibacy. Tson-Kha-pa founded the Ganden

monastery. The other great monasteries of Depung Sera and Tashi-Lhumpo were founded by his disciples and share the highest religious power and prestige. These centres of learing continued the work of religious propagation in Mongolia and Siberia. Dge-Luges-pas came to be favoured by Mongol chieftains as spiritual leaders and later as temporal rulers of Tibet. The hierarchs came to be recognized as Dalai (the ocean) Lamas. The most distinguished of them was the great fifth Dalai Lama (A.D. 1615-1680), upon whome the sovereignty of the whole country was conferred by the Mongolian chief, Gusri Khan, who finally wiped all opposition from Tsang and the other provinces of Tibet.

The recognition of the full and divine sovereignty of the Dalai Lama over the whole of Tibet is a turning point in Tibetan history. Sanskrit books on Grammar and other subjects continued to be translated into Tibeten under the rule of this able and widely travelled Lama. His Chief Minister, Sans-rgyas-rgya-mtso, succeeded in keeping his death a secret for several years in the interest of public welfare and conducted the affairs of the state in his name so efficiently that he is remembered as one of the wisest statesmen Tibet has ever produced. The seventh Dalai Lama (A.D. 1708-58) was known for his deep learning, tolerance and asceticism. His reign was marked by the visits of Roman Catholic Capuchin and Portuguese Jesuit missionaries to Lhasa, but religious and cultural relations with India seem at this period to have fallen into oblivion, mainly because of foreign domination and the consequent disappearance of old order in India itself.[1]

Lamaism spread to China, European Russia, Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan. In China it is confined to the north and its presence is ascribed to the enthusiasm of Kubilai and encouragement given on political grounds by the Ming and

1. For recent researches in Tibetan Buddhism the two articles published in *Indian Contribution to World Culture*, Vivekanand Rock Memorial Committee, in 1970, one by Dr. A.C. Banerjee and the other by L.L. Mehrotra, may profitably be consulted. See pp. 393-409.

Manchu dynasties. The Kalmuks who live in European Russia are descendants of tribes who moved westwards from Dzungaria in the seventh century A.D. Many of them left Russia and returned to the east in A.D. 1771, but a considerable number remained behind, chiefly between the Volga and the Don, and the population professing Lamaism there is now reckoned at about one lac.

In Ladakh Buddhist influences may have been at work from an early period. In later times for ecclesiastical purpose it formed a part of Tibet until the disruption of the kingdom in the tenth century. It subsequently accepted the sovereignty of Lhasa in religious and sometimes in political matters. In Bhutan, Lamaism probably entered in about 1670 A.D. when the country was conquered by the Tibetans. The established Church, however, is the Dugpa, a sub-division of the Kargyupa. There are two rulers in Bhutan : the *Dharmarāja* or spiritual and the *Devarāja* or temporal. The former is regarded as an incarnation of the first class.

The conversion of Sikkim is ascribed to a saint named Latsan Chembo who visited it in about 1650 A.D. They associated with a native chief whom they ordained as a Lama and made king. Nying-ma-pa and the Karmapa sects are still existent in Tibet found here at present.

Mongolia

The inhabitants of the Tarim basin, i.e., Central Asia had brought culture along with the message of Buddhism to the Huns of Mongolia in the first century B.C. Thereafter this religion spread among the Awards and the Turks. The Turks had already witnessed the respect and honour paid to Buddhism in the Chinese Court. Besides these tribes, the Uigurs, i.e., the kinsmen of the Turks had also been initiated into the faith. Chinggiz Khan conquered the Uigurs and adopted their script as also he derived the benefit from their learning. Thus his descendants were acquainted with Buddhism. Among the Mongols of today there is a tradition that the Mongols were somewhat acquainted with Buddhism before they came into contact with the Tibetan Lamas and literature,

In about 1260 A.D., after Kubilai was initiated into Buddhism, adoration of Buddha became a fashion among the Khans of the Chinggiz family and today all the Mongols are Buddhists.

One of the Sa-skya hierarchs called Hphags-pa became the spiritual teacher of prince Kubilai of Mongolia, who, on coming to the throne as the first Mongol Emperor of China, conferred the sovereignty of Central Tibet upon the high priest of Sa-skya (1270 A.D.). Prior to this, in A.D. 1246, Hphags-pa's teacher and uncle Sa-skya Ānandadhvaja had already paid a visit to the Mongols and had propagated the faith there. Of course, so far as the work of Buddhist scriptures into the Mongolian language is concerned, it probably could not begin before Kubilai Khan.

After the power of Sa-skya-pas had waned, the Dge-lugs-pas came to be favoured by the powerful Mangol chieftains as spiritual leaders and later as temporal rulers of Tibet as has already been stated in connection with Buddhism in Tibet.

As regards the translation of Buddhist texts it may be noted that earlier translations into Mongolian include that of the *Bodhicariyāvatāra* of Śāntideva by Lama. This as well as further translations were made from Tibetan rather than from Sanskrit. Voluminous translations of Indian books in Mongolian started only after the Mongols became Pandits of the Tibetan translations of Indian books. Tibetan translations of Indian books are found in two collections called : the *Skah-hgyua* or the word of the Buddha in 100 volumes and the *Bstan-hgyur*, i.e., the treatises in 225 volumes on philosophy, logic and literature. Ison-kha-pa Sumatikirti (A.D. 1357-1414) and his disciples established the *Mahāvihāras* in Tibet after the model of the monasteries of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā where the Mongolian monks received education in thousands. The third Dalai Lama died in Mongolia. So also the fourth Dalai Lama was born in a Mongolian family. When the followers of Tson-kha-pa were bullied during the period of the fifth Dalai Lama, the Mongolian army conquered the whole of Tibet in 1642 A.D. and offered the same to the

Lama. This resulted in hierarchy in Tibet continuing till recent days. The Tibetan Lamas living far from Mongolia, a Lama incarnate of Taranath was instituted also in Urga, the capital of Mongolia.

Nepal

Nepal, consisting of Lumbini, the birth-place of *Bodhisattva* Siddhārtha at a distance of about 15 miles from his father's residence in the Nepalese city of Kapilavastu, holds a significant position in the history of Buddhism. Even after enlightenment the Śākyamuni visited his previous home and converted his son Rāhula and others. Emperor Aśoka visited Lumbini where his inscribed pillar is founded commemorating the Lord's birth at the sacred place. The remains of the *Stupas* and monasteries built by Aśoka's daughter Cārumati are even now found in Nepal. The *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* has granted certain concessions to the Nepalese monks on climatic grounds. Ācārya Vasubandhu is said to have propagated his doctrine in Nepal in the fourth century A.D. In the seventh century the Nepalese king Amsuvarman's daughter was married to Sron-btsan-gam-po, the king of Tibet. She won over her husband in favour of Buddhist culture to be adopted in his country. Since that time Nepal began to give active support to the cause of Buddhism. It contributed translators to Tibet when Sron-btsan-gam-po and others patronized the Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit works. Buddhist monks of India took shelter in Nepal when the Muslims ruined their rich monasteries in Bihar and Bengal. But Buddhism in its original monastic form could no longer survive in Nepal after it was wiped out from India. However, until recently, under the combined influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, four main sects of Buddhist philosophy, each with several sub-sects have been prominent there in Nepal. They are namely, (a) *Svābhāvika*, i.e., the belief that everything in this world has its own ultimate characteristic of *Pravṛti* or evolution and *Nivṛti* or involution. (b) *Aiśvarika* i.e., belief in a self-existent and perfect God, (c) *Karmika*, i.e., belief in a conscious moral effort through

which the world-phenomenon is developed on the fundamental basis of *Avidyā*, and (d) *Yātrika*, i.e., belief in the existence of conscious intellectual agency and free-will.

Now, let us conclude this dissertation with our consideration on the vexed question of disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its nativity itself and of the measures to protect the faith from decline and decay.

15

Disappearance of Buddhism from India

It is a sad tale and at the same time an inscrutable riddle how Buddhism disappeared from the land of its origin. Buddhism was noted for its originality and as originality entails a departure from the traditional way of life and views, it quite naturally provoked the opposition of all other sects whose philosophy of life and sanctioned practices were criticized by it (Buddhism). The most characteristic tenet of Buddhism is the denial of the individual soul. Buddhism also denied God. But, Buddhism believed in continued rounds of births until the individual attained *Nirvāṇa*, which, however, meant different things to different men. It looks like a paradox that the individual (*Pudgala* or *Jiva*) is not animated by a single unitary principle running through the vicissitudes of life and varied psycho-physical experiences, holding them together.

Yet the individual is not a split personality. The individual is psychologically speaking conscious of his identity with the past and the future. He passes through various births and deaths and undergoes the consequences of the past merit and demerit and yet is not a metaphysical unit. This naturally provoked the opposition of the Brahmins, Jains and all other schools. In fact, the Buddhist doctrine of no-soul is a peculiarity which is not endorsed by any other religious sect or philosophical school. There is, however, an

ethical motive underlying this theory constituting its justification.

The Buddha held and his followers emphasized that the belief in individual soul necessarily entails egoity (*Ahaṁkāra*) and fosters possession instinct (*Mamaṇkāra*). It is these two cardinal passions which compel the individual to be enmeshed in cycles of trans-migration.

The Buddha's diagnosis of the etiology of universal misery has been accepted by all advanced religions. Personal vanity and self-aggrandizement at the cost of others have been condemned as the worst and vilest passions. Whether one believes in a personal soul existing in its own right and maintaining its identity throughout its chequered career, we must admit that egoistic prepossession is the greatest obstacle to spiritual progress. The Buddha's followers, particularly the school-men, e g., Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti and others put forward powerful arguments to prove that an eternal self in forming the individual is only a fiction of superstition. Whatever may be its logical merits the theory of non-soul has a heterodox flavour. It is apt to strike even a work-a-day man as something queer and out of the way and rival philosophers made capital out of it to their advantage.

Another peculiarity of the creed preached by Buddha is his denunciation of God and theistic beliefs and practices. Curiously the denial of God is maintained by the Sānkhya and Mimānsa schools which however are held to be orthodox systems of thought. The standard of orthodoxy in India was not belief in God but belief in the infallibility of the Vedas. It is strange that Buddha believed in the existence of minor gods such as Brahma Sahmpati, Sakra and others. He did not care to decry the existence of other gods and deities worshipped by different sects of people for minor favours. The Buddha claimed to be superior to these gods. The Brahmanical god Brahmā is said to have solicited him for preaching the doctrine to the people. Sakra, the king of gods (*Devarāja*) was his attendant and loyal executer of his mandate. The serpent-king Mucalinda, a semi-divine being, was too glad to do menial services to the enlightened one. The

Buddha himself believed that he was the superb person in the universe owing allegiance to no superior person or preceptor.[1]

A third outstanding characteristic of the Buddha is condemnation of worldly values and institutions. He did not believe in the senctity of married life, in the duty of the son to his father or the overriding claims of society upon a spiritual aspirant and the necessity of loyalty to the king. Though he did not accept the superior authority of the king over the homeless monks, he, however, discouraged all acts of disloyalty. It is a peculiar feature of Indian thought and life that even princes did not claim the right to impose their orders upon the homeless monks of all sects[2]. Tolerance of all sorts of views including obvious blatant heresies has been the keynote of the Indian mind, provided they did not infringe the laws of the State and subvert the accepted moral code. It is this ideal milieu which made it possible for the Buddha to preach his gospel. But his condemnation of the Vedic religion and rejection of the authority of the Veda, though shared by other heretical schools, had a chequered career. The Buddha denounced the utility of the ceremonies and sacrifices enjoined by the Vedic scriptures which antagonized the Brahmins without leaving any room for reconciliation. It is pretty sure that the Buddha had no schooling in Vedic lore much less in the esoteric teachings of the Upaniṣads in so far as it can be made out from his sermons. His condemnation of the soul-theory as unfolded in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* does not assail the Upaniṣadic stand-point. In fact, the arguments propounded therein are rather puerile and cannot be assigned to any of the schools of philosophy. The attacks of the school-men in later centuries are philosophical in character. As no school of philosophy can claim to say the last word, and their differences are interminable, the Buddhist theory became more or less a dogma. The dispute of the philosophers

1. Cf. His meeting with Upaka Ajivaka while going to Isipatana for preaching his first sermon—*MV*. p. 11 ("Sablābhibhu...nibbuto").
2. Cf *MV*, pp. 77-80 (Rājabhaṭa-Angulimāracora-Kārabhedakacora-Likhita Cora-Kasāhata-Lakkhaṇāhatā-Iṇāyika).

became a matter of academic interest. But the repudiation of the authority of the Vedas had a far-reaching reaction. It progressively enlarged the cleavage between the national religion upheld by the Brahmins and the Buddhist faith which was regarded as an innovation. We are describing the unhealthy consequences of this rupture :

The sacraments enjoined in the *Sāstras* from birth to death are surcharged with the lofty motive of making man free from the taints and contaminations of the sins of his ancestors.

There are pre-natal ceremonies which are prescribed for having a worthy son. The father and mother are to look upon the act of generation as a sacred duty. There is the pleasure of sex and charms of youth. But the union of the man and wife is not primarily for pleasure but for procreation. It is never forgotten that a woman is to fulfil her destiny by becoming mother.

The Buddhists look upon marriage with a feeling bordering on horror. Family life is regarded as a snare and an impediment to the realization of the supreme purpose of life, namely, *Nirvāṇa*. An exceptional soul who has transcended the limitations of the average people may have a justification for this attitude. The Buddha, Śankarācārya and the galaxy of spiritual giants stand in a category of their own. Society and the state have made allowance for these exceptional souls. But the exception cannot be made a rule. India still respects the order of homeless ascetics who have circumscribed their wants and dedicated their entire energy and time to the cultivation of higher spiritual values. They want to conquer the animal in the human personality and to secure the triumph of the spirit. For these men the family life with its never ending obligations and duties, the demands of the state and the claims of society are hurdles in the way of spiritual advance. They have received the homage of the people. But the standard cannot be made so rigid in the case of common men and women. Celibacy may be a virtue, but it cannot be made universal or practised by large number of men with impunity. This would lead to the extinction of the human race and the

world will be left to the lower animals and insects. Even during Buddha's time in the order of monks which multiplied by leaps and bounds there occurred irregularities, squabbles and various deviations and criminal offences for which specific rules had to be devised by the Buddha.

The multiplication of the monks and nuns was at once a point of strength and weakness. It is with difficulty that the monks and nuns could be maintained within the limits of monastic rules. It was not physically possible for the Master to scrutinise every case and screen the worthy candidates from the black-sheep. Many were induced to join the order in order to have a secured livelihood, amenities of medical treatment[1] and the supply of necessaries without stint. The order became an unwieldy body even during the life-time of the Buddha. There were many refractory elements[2]. A critical student of the *Vinaya* will see that a large-scale admission of all sorts of people into the order posed a menace to the prestige of the religion. Though the Master did not believe in the policy of drift, he could not forecast the numerous and diverse cases of delinquency that might occur and had actually occurred.

Secondly, by disparaging the ceremonial religion as worthless ritualism, the Buddha and his followers undermined the faith of the people in the observances of rituals which aimed at restraining the individual from natural aberrations. The *Karmakāṇḍa* wanted to see that individuals would walk in the path of righteousness and morality. In point of fact, the discipline of the student life (*Brahmacarya*), which has been enjoined in the *Dharmasāstra*, was calculated to strengthen the physical endurance, intellectual sharpness and love of the morally good way of life with corresponding abhorrence of immoral conduct. It may be surmised that the discipline was fruitful in the majority of cases. The Buddha wanted to make this discipline the universal standard and did not insist on caste or heredity which was the strong consideration with the

1. *MV*, pp. 76-77 (Pañcābādhavatthu).
2. *MV*, p. 373 ("Āgametu, bhanti,...paññāyissāmā'ti")

Brahmins. The Brahmins were strict disciplinarians and the penalties of infringement of the rules were severe. Whatever one may think or say, the Brahmanical discipline produced stupendous results in the intellectual field. Maxmuller expressed his unqualified admiration for the extraordinary memory of the Brahmins. The entire *Veda*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* were learned by heart and preserved by memory with meticulous exactitude.

The discipline of student life in the case of Kṣatriya was equally strict. India wanted that the ruling class must be undaunted heroes with unsurpassed skill in arms and imbued with the unshakable resolve to maintain the integrity of the state, the solidarity of family and social life, the strict enforcement of civil and criminal laws, punishment of the wicked and respect for the virtuous people and a special obligation to protect the Brahmins who were the custodians of knowledge of *Sāstras* as well as the makers of laws.

The supremacy of the Brahmins in the social hierarchy was ruthlessly assailed by the Buddha. Apparently he intended to show the equality of men. But it will be wrong to suppose that the Buddha did not believe in blue blood. On the contrary, he believed in the superiority of the Kṣatriya caste and he was proud of his birth in the Śākya clan. Of course, he did not restrict the admission to the order to high caste people. But as a matter of fact, the majority of the distinguished monks in his order were recruited from the upper strata of society : Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas. Upali was of course a barber by caste and so inferior in social status to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. But he is rather an exception. The outstanding disciples of the Buddha were Sariputra, Maudgallyayana and Mahakasyapa who were Brahmins and the pillars of the organization.

The Buddha's denunciation of Brahmins and his narration of their lineage from a slave girl are rather defamatory. In the Brahmanical *Sāstras* the Brahmins were said to have descended from a sage who founded the *Gotra*, the lineage. There is no reason to call in question this tradition.

Thirdly, by undermining the faith of the people in the

Vedic sacrifies and ceremonies which inspired the members of the twice-born classes with aspiration for ideal purity, power and prosperity, he reduced the people to the rank of unregenerate *Śūdras*. He did not prescribe any substitute. It is necessary for the progress of society that there should be high intellectual persons endowed with a lofty moral character who would disdain to have the good things of this world at the cost of their principles. The Brahmins were entitled to receive gifts, but not form out-castes or people accused of heineous crimes. An ideal Brahmin would not ponder to the lower tastes and propensities of the donor. The Brahmin had to live an austere life of poverty even in the midst of riches acquired by him. It appears that Buddha was not acquainted with this mode of life which was made obligatory in the *Śāstras*. There is every reason to suppose that the Buddha had only a nodding acquaintance with the traditional learning of the Brahmins. Nobody can predict the future destiny of the Buddhist faith which a friendly alliance with the Brahmins might have produced. The antagonism between the Brahmins and Buddhists was not a source of strength to the Buddhist church. The Brahmin's love of knowledge and voluntary disposition to accord submission to a person of superior knowledge and wisdom and holiness is undeniable[1]. It is this spirit which accounts for the acceptance of the order by Brahmins who enjoyed the esteem of sovereign classes and masses. A more charitable attitude and appraisal on the part of the Buddha might have produced salutary results. But one should not speculate about what might have been. It is a historical fact that in spite of the services of the Brahmins to the Buddhist church, the latter did not inculcate the need for the respectful behaviour to the Brahmins, at least those who followed the traditional path with dedicated spirit. It is also worthy of reflection if a spiritual accord and harmony could not be

1. Compare the accounts of a Brahmin's approach to the Kṣatriya kings for acquiring knowledge of new modes mediation (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*) with the accounts (*Pali Tripiṭaka*) of Brahmins offering homa e to the Buddha when they were convinced of the efficacy of the new discipline.

established between the Upaniṣadic teaching and the Buddha's message.

We have already referred to the Buddha's hostile criticism of the sacrifical cult. The gravamen of his charges lies in the argument that the mere ceremonial observances cannot give a passport to *Nirvāṇa*. He conveniently forgot or ignored the truth that sacrifices and ceremonies did not promise any such results. Prosperity, power, prestige in this life and residence in heaven after death are the promised rewards. They may fall short of the highest perfection believed to be the necessary concomitant of *Nirvāṇa*. But *Nirvāṇa* is not the only end of a person's desire. The Brahmins inculcated four-fold ends of life (*Puruṣārtha*) viz. *Dharma* (religious merit), *Artha* (economic affluence), *Kama* (enjoyment of happiness accruing from satisfaction of desires) and finally *Mokṣa* (emancipation) i.e., *Nirvāṇa* as the supermost value. The first three values are of a lower grade, but those who wanted them were given opportunities for achievement of their objectives. Ultimately the Buddha and the Order had to win over their lay followers by promise of heaven as a reward of their benefactions and gifts to the Buddhist church.[1] Prayer to the Buddha and worship at the *Caityas* was spoken of as productive of long life, cure of diseases and other mundane advantages. The spirit of accommodation gathered momentum and made an inroad on what was the Brahmin's close preserve. The Buddha had to climb down from his high ideal of renunciation of worldly values. He renounced his family and snapped the chords of social obligation in order to dedicate all his energy and time to the achievement of the highest goal of life, namely, *Nirvāṇa*. But as his followers multiplied, his social obligation to them had to be satisfied. Big monasteries were built even during the life-time of the Buddha for the accommodation of the monks and nuns. Mere alms received from the householders proved inadequate to the requirements of the large number of monks gathered together in monasteries.

1. Ratana Sutta, *KhP* and Visākha in *MV.*, pp. 309-10 ("Yā annapānaṃ...pamodati").

It was grateful even for the Buddha that devoted lay men and women made big donations. As we have observed before the Buddhist order of monks multiplied with great rapidly entailing huge requirements and establishment. The monasteries grew into rich corporations. Naturally the services of accountants, cashiers, guards, servants, supervisors to look over the necessary repairs of buildings and entertainment of lay guests had to be requisitioned. A secretariate became a necessary annexe.

So long as the Buddhist order could produce scholars of high standing and saints of superb holiness, it spontaneously enlisted the reverence and patronage of kings, potentates and business magnates and other lay people. The huge organizations which were necessitated by the multiplication of numbers made the Buddhist church dependent upon the economic aid of the lay community. It flourished when royal patronage was lavished upon it and wilted and withered when such patronage was not available. It must be acknowledged without prevarication that the satisfaction of the physical needs of food, raiment, medical treatment and the maintenance of big libraries with fresh accessions required economic affluence. It was the good fortune of the Buddhist monasteries that kings vied with one another in their patronage and supply of necessaries. In course of time these monasteries with their palatial buildings became rich corporations. Villages with their revenues were endowed for the upkeep of these monasteries with their various departments. With the growing income the monks naturally lived in luxury and became more and more ease-loving and indolent. The Brahmins smarted under the loss of income and prestige. They naturally wanted to win over the lost flock of erstwhile adherents to their ancestral faith. The *Puraṇās* with the stories of heroes and saints were recited before the half-educated or uneducated mass and gained back the support of the general mass to their cause. Worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the goddesses became popular owing to the propaganda of the Brahmins. The Buddhist originally could not rally the support of gods and goddesses. But the example of the Brahmanical modes of worship and their progressive popularity infla-

med them imitate the Brahmins. The result was that under the name of so many Bodhisattvas a large pantheon of gods and goddesses came into being in the Buddhist church. Quick results were assured for the worship of these new-fangled gods and goddesses. The Buddhist monks devised terrific and powerful gods who were represented to trample under foot Śiva, Pārvati, Gaṇeśa and other gods and goddesses in order to impress the general run of people with the importancy and worthlessness of the Hindu gods and goddesses. The Buddhist pantheon was teeming with a plethora of gods who were ushered into existence to combat the popularity of the deities.

The rivalry between the Brahmins and the Buddhists gradually matured into positive enmity and hatred. The attempts of the sacerdotal monks were reinforced by the powerful polemics of intellectual stalwarts. Furthermore, the change over from Pali and Prākṛta to Sanskrit as the medium of instruction in the Buddhist monasteries went a long way to increase the prestige of the Buddhist faith. Intellectual eminence easily appealed to the educated sectioned and ensured the power and influence of the Buddhist church.

But the Buddhists lost their citadels one by one and the people of various traits withdrew their allegiance to the Buddhist creed. Ultimately Buddhism maintained its power in Bengal and Bihar under the aegis of Pala kings who ruled over these provinces. It was on account of the patronage of the Pala kings who were staunch followers of Buddhist, particularly of Mahāyāna persuasion, that Buddhism remained a powerful faith in the eastern provinces. The rivalry of the Buddhist intellectuals with the Brahmanical intellectuals was productive of salutary results. It sharpened the intellect of the intelligentsia in both the camps. The Brahmins did not yield and carried on the fight on the intellectual plan with vigour and verve. So also the Buddhists did not take defeat on easy terms. The Pala kings, though they were staunch adherents of the Buddhist faith, were not intolerant of the Brahmanical religion. Ultimately the Sena dynasty came into power in Bengal. The Sena kings were the staunch adherents of the Brahmanical faith. Buddhism gradually lost its hold in

Bengal and was cornered in Bihar. The Palas were becoming weaker and loss of dominions and their revenue made them militarily weak. In the meantime the Mohammedans invaded India and by their persistent attacks conquered Indian territories in the west. There was no empire in India which was not divided into a number of states and principalities with their rivalries and hostilities. The internecine fights weakened each Hindu state. Their enmity and jealousy did not allow them to combine in collective resistance to the foreign invaders who threatened not only their kingdoms but also their religion. The Mohammedans were not only good fighters, but also fanatics in their adherence to Islam. They destroyed the Hinda temples and Buddhist monasteries with unremitting fury and made forcible converts of the people. The submerged sections of the Hindus, who were not allowed the prerogatives and privileges of worshipping with the high caste Hindus, embraced Islam in large numbers voluntarily or involuntarily. The Mohammedan invaders with the help of these converts carried on the campaign against the remaining independent states. The Hindu kings had to fight one by one and after resistance of years succumbed. The high caste Hindus were proud of their religion and culture. They were powerful enough to resist the temptation and threat of conversion. But the Mohammedans consolidated their power with the help of the new proselytes. It is curious that most of these Mohammedan invaders were converts from the Buddhist faith. From Central Asia to Afghanistan Buddhism was a powerful religion. But from the 11th century A.D. onwards the Mohammedans made incursions against these states and the Buddhists laity embraced Islam as a result of their defeat. After change of faith these quondam Buddhists became fanatically attached to Islam and swelled the ranks of the Muslim chiefs in their expeditions against other Indian states. The low class people were adherents of the Buddhist religion but their faith was lukewarm. The change over to another religion was not a difficult task so far as the lower strata of the population were concerned. Islam does not believe in half-way measures. In all these countries from Central Asia to Afghanistan and Asia

Minor to Persia wholesale conversion was made to the faith of the Arabian prophet. In India, however, their success was only partial. The bulk of the population had remained true to their ancestral faith. But Buddhism had a clay-foot and this was due to its broad liberalism. It was satisfied with the show of homage and did not interfere with their customary rites and ceremonies of worship. Too much liberalism is tantamount to laxity and so change of religion from Buddhism to Islam did not put a strain on the low caste Buddhist. They had their grievances against upper caste Hindus and smarted under a thousand and one disabilities. They did not feel ignominy involved in the renegation. Having renounced the Buddhist faith they developed an implacable hatred and animus against the old faith and its adherents. Buddhism was principally a religion of the monks and the monks occupied the same or similar position with that of the Brahmins among the followers of the Vedic religion. But there was a vital difference between them. The Brahmins were tenaciously conservative and proud of their religion and culture, whereas the Buddhist monks were too soft. They could not consolidate the laity as the Brahmins had done. Moreover, it was the Buddhist monks who were the custodians of the religion. They were the pillars of the church. The Muslims found particular delight in killing the Buddhist monks. From the recently published biography of Dharmaswami, a Tibetan monk who was present at the time of second destruction of Nālandā, we come across the Muslim's particular vendetta against the Buddhist monks and because they knew that if the monks were destroyed the lay community would be like a rudderless ship in the sea and would easily submit to the conquerors and adopt their faith, they made the Buddhist their special target.

The actually happened in all the countries which professed Buddhism but were conquered by the Muslim. Once converted they and their descendants became staunch adherents to the new faith and were ashamed to admit their genealogy.

It is a misconceived view that Buddhism was expelled by

Brahmins. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarācārya who are the reformers of the Hindu religion, persistently carried on an intellectual crusade against the Buddhist. It is quite probable that they defeated the Buddhists in debate and put them to disgrace. But this does not necessarily mean the extinction of Buddhism or that of its followers. There are many communities in India which have not produced a scholar of the calibre of Śaṅkarācārya and yet they continue to exist and to have influence over the rank and file. The common run of people are not enamoured of intellectual pre-eminence. Religion with them is an uncritical blind faith and it has no need for logical support. If the intellectuals among the Buddhists were defeated or debunked, that would not have sufficed to drive out the Buddhists. The intellectual superiority of the Brahmins might have robbed the Buddhist order of the prestige and respect which they enjoyed among the aristocracy. This might mean loss of income. In fact the lay community except the lower strata were not Buddhists in the sense of converts to foreign faiths. In marriage and performance of other sacraments they followed the ancestral custom and observed the ceremonies prescribed by the Brahmins. In civil and criminal procedure of laws and inheritance they were all governed by Brahmanical rules and *Śāstras*. Even the Pālas carried on matrimonial relations with the ruling Kṣatriyas of other states. Adoption as Buddhism did not mean loss of caste. In fact they were half-Buddhists and half-Brahmanical in their practical observance of religious rites. It was the Brahmin priests who consecrated the king on the occasion of his coronation. On the birth of son the king had to invite the Brahmin priest to perform the ceremony. On the marriage of the king or princess it was the Brahmin priest who brought the couple together by the Vedic ceremonies. The Buddhist monks would not attend such festive occasions. They looked upon marriage with indifference, if not contempt. It was quite nepugnant to the Buddhist monks, because conjugal relationship meant sexual union. As regards law of inheritance, the Buddhists were perfectly unconcerned. So Buddhism was not a full-fledged religion like Brahmanism,

Christianity or Islam so far as the lay followers were concerned. It was the religion of the monks. With the disappearance. of the monks, Buddhism automatically disappeared. The Mohammedans dealt a finihing blow to the Buddhist order and thus paved the way for the conversion of the laity or their whole-hearted reversion to the ancestral Brahmanical faith. We have observed before that the relation between the Brahmins and the Buddhists was not cordial. The disappearance of the Buddhists order and religion and institutions from India did not evoke any grief or sense of the loss from the elite and the masses. Buddhism died tragically unwept, unsung and unhonoured.

The good points of Buddhism were, however, assimilated by the Brahmins and so Buddhism survives rather in a disguised form in the philosophy, culture and ritualism of the Hindus, *i.e.*, the followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Brahmins adopted the Buddha as an incarnation of God and gave him a place in the pantheon.

The disappearance of Buddhism from India is a colossal tragedy. Had there been a rapprochement among the Brahmins and Buddhists, the Brahmins would have shared the prestige of the Buddhists in the Buddhist countries and India would have become united with the Buddhist world atleast spiritually. Of course, the spiritual affinity still persists, but it is not pronounced enough to make India one with the rest of the Buddhist countries. This is a desideratum. The religious unity would have worked as a bulwark against the threat posed by the pan-Islam movement. India would have secured the same moral support if not political alliance from the Buddhist countries as the Pakistan is having from the Muslim countries. Buddhism would have gained strength and momentum in the Asiatic countries, had it got the support of the Brahmin intellectuals of India.

It is pitty that Buddhism could not resist the advances of Islam. It is incumbent upon the Buddhist order to win back the flock to its fold. The Buddhist converted to Islam and Christianity must be weaned away from these newly-adopted faiths and be unified with the rest of the populatiou by ties of

brotherhood. In this spiritual enterprise the Brahmin intellectuals of India can do yeoman's service. The old tenacity of the Brahmin's faith and conviction is to be harnessed to the national spirit of the Buddhist monk. The Buddhist monks must be intellectually and morally reassured and Indian Brahmins must supply the place left vacant by the old Buddhist monks of India. It was the Brahmins who were the stalwarts of the Buddhist order in the past. Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti were Brahmins and it was they who made Buddhism a powerful spiritual and intellectual force which changed the once barbarian natives of Asia into humane and culture nations. Buddhism had stood for all that is good, noble and righteous. The Brahmins also acted as their companions. The medieval spirit of antagonism must be shed and they must unite as brothers in the faith.

Gauḍapāda, the spiritual grandfather of Śaṅkarācārya made a strenuous attempt to convince the custodians of the Buddhist church of the fundamental unity of Vedic religion with Buddhism. Buddhism, particularly the Mahāyāna version of it by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, has an essential core of identity with Vedānta and barring the terminological difference the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist canonical works voice the same essential truth. The differences are only external and accidental. Vedānta stands in need of reinforcement of Buddhist ethics and Buddhism will gain in clarity and persuasiveness by being buttressed by the Upaniṣads. The petty spirit of dogmatism must be transcended on both sides. Swāmī Vivekānanda stressed the fundamental unity of Buddhism with Vedānta and Rabindra Nāth sang the glories of the Buddha and Buddhist saints. India and the Buddhist world must come together and feel the pulsation of unity and thus reinvigorated stand before the world as the beacon-light before the world torn with strife, feud, jealousy and mutual distrust, as the tower of love, peace, friendship and sympathy. The world has still the need for Buddha's gospel which has to be preached again for the benefit of mankind and this objective can be achieved by the alchemy of the union of Buddhism and Vedānta. The two are the obverse and reverse of the

Indian coin of spirituality which will remove the spiritual poverty of the world. It is, therefore, desired that the intellectuals of India and the Buddhist world must shed their exclusiveness and parochaialism and study the Buddhist canon and philosophy along with Vedānta. Vedānta minus Buddhist ethical afflatus is rather empty and Buddhism minus Vedānta is purblind. The two must be united to form the entelechy of the newly reborn spiritual organism. There must be anschluss of both.

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